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# ***Daily Report***

# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

**FBIS-AFR-90-161  
Monday  
20 August 1990**

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-90-161

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### Cameroon

#### Lawyer Released; To Continue Political Fight

AB1808175390 Libreville Africa No.1 in French  
1230 GMT 15 Aug 90

[Text] In Cameroon, it has really happened: Lawyer Yondo Black, the former president of Cameroon's Bar Association, was freed yesterday evening. This follows President Paul Biya's announcement a few days ago of the release of political prisoners. This morning, lawyer Yondo Black left Yaounde for Douala, his hometown. He was not quite happy—not because of his release, but because of the delay in political liberalization in the country. However, he is determined to continue his course of action. Let us now listen to him:

[Begin Black recording] We intend to continue our actions since we have noted with satisfaction that it has prompted a lot of hope among our people, and even abroad, many people have approved of our approach. This is encouraging, and our duty is to take that into account. What we have been fighting for is the establishment of a multiparty democracy. Concerning this issue, you are aware that legislation is under consideration. It has been (?promised by the head of state). This legislation will help provide the leeway to Cameroonian to act. [end recording]

### Chad

#### Nation To Accept Hague Court Verdict on Conflict

AB1708201590 Paris AFP in French 1845 GMT  
15 Aug 90

[Text] Ndjamen, 15 Aug (AFP)—Chad will accept the verdict of the Hague International Court of Justice "provided it is in keeping with international law," the Chadian minister of foreign affairs, Acheikh ibn-Oumar, declared on Wednesday [15 Aug], just a day after the failure of the sixth session of the Chad-Libya Joint Commission to settle the border dispute between the two

countries. After this session, which turned out to be "a total flop," according to Mr. Acheikh ibn-Oumar, the Chadian authorities believed that there was no alternative other than recourse to the Hague Court for its ruling on the dispute over the Aozou strip (in northern Chad), which has been occupied by Libyan troops since 1973.

On Tuesday evening, Chad submitted a "compromise agreement" text conveying the court's livery of seisin to the Libyan delegation, which returned to Tripoli on Wednesday morning, thus preferring "to cut short" its stay after the meeting's fiasco. According to a Chadian source, this fiasco is due to the fact that the delegation wanted "first and foremost" to secure the release of hundreds of Libyan war prisoners captured by the Chadian Army. The Algiers agreement on a political settlement of the dispute, which expires on 31 August and has not produced any result, provided for a "global settlement," and the case of war prisoners constitutes just one of the clauses of that agreement, an official source in Ndjamen pointed out.

The Chadian minister of foreign affairs said that Libya's intransigence during the meeting of the joint commission confirmed Chadian fears of an imminent "full-scale war," which Libya was preparing to launch against Chad from the Sudan's Darfur Province to the east of Chad, with the "active support" of Sudan. Concerning the possibility of the Joint Commission holding a seventh session, the Chadian minister said no date had been fixed. "That will depend on the climate," he declared. "If Libya launches an attack on Chad, it will be difficult" to hold such a meeting, he added.

For his part, Libyan Foreign Minister Jadallah 'Azzuz al-Talhi, who led his country's delegation to Ndjamen, said before leaving for Tripoli and after an audience with President Hissei Habre on Wednesday morning that this seventh session would be held in the Libyan capital, stressing that the two countries "are still working toward finding a solution" to their conflict. He said he had delivered to the Chadian head of state a message from Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi on relations between the two "sister countries."

## Kenya

**Coverage of Labor Minister Okondo Controversy****Eldoret Demonstrations**

*EA1808184990 Nairobi KTN Television in English  
0500 GMT 18 Aug 90*

[From the press review]

[Text] THE STANDARD newspaper leads with news of demonstrations against the minister for labor, Peter Okondo. The demonstrators in Eldoret carried placards calling for the immediate dismissal of the minister, and some even want Okondo detained over his irresponsible utterances he made recently. Okondo's death threats to the late Bishop Alexander Muge of the CPK [Church of the Province of Kenya] diocese of Eldoret shortly before his death have attracted a lot of anger and calls for his resignation.

**'High-Placed Source' on Resignation**

*EA1908124490 Nairobi KTN Television in English  
0500 GMT 19 Aug 90*

[From the "Press Review"]

[Text] The issues raised by the death of Bishop Alexander Muge continue to dominate headlines in all the Sunday newspapers. The entire family of the late Bishop Muge has no doubt that the bishop's death was a political murder, says THE STANDARD in its lead story quoting the brother of the late bishop.

Following the storm raised by the bishop's death, the beleaguered minister for labor, Mr. Peter Okondo, yesterday packed his bags from his office. THE SUNDAY NATION in its (?main) item further says that a high-placed source told the newspaper that the minister had resigned, but that could not be confirmed. Mr. Okondo, THE SUNDAY TIMES says, is at the very center of the controversy surrounding the road death of Bishop Muge last Tuesday [14 Aug] by his unbelievably irresponsible statement that started off this tragic chain of events. THE TIMES editorial demands that he assumes responsibility for this and resign his parliamentary as well as his cabinet seat.

**Resignation Confirmed**

*EA2008130590 Nairobi KNA in English 0855 GMT  
20 Aug 90*

[Text] Nairobi, 20 August—The Minister for Labour Mr. Peter Okondo has resigned. Mr. Okondo's statement delivered to the Kenya News Agency read:

"After consideration and appropriate consultations regarding words I am reported to have uttered at Busia on 11 August 1990, I offered to resign my ministerial appointment."

The statement was dated 18 August 1990.

**Government Orders Inquest in Bishop's Death**

*EA1808175790 Nairobi Domestic Service in English  
1000 GMT 18 Aug 90*

[Text] The government has ordered that a public inquest be held in a court of law to determine the cause and circumstances surrounding the death of the late Bishop Alexander Kipsang Muge. Bishop Muge died in a horror [as heard] road crash on 14 August this year. Releasing the statement today, the attorney general, Justice Matthew Guy Muli, said that in order to avoid witnesses travelling long distances, the inquest will be held at the Eldoret law courts. The attorney general said that the public inquest would be presided over by a judge appointed by the chief justice of Kenya.

## Uganda

**Museveni Holds Talks With Kenya's Moi**

*EA1708181990 Nairobi Domestic Service in English  
1000 GMT 17 Aug 90*

[Excerpts] His excellency President Daniel arap Moi today said that efforts to normalize diplomatic relations between Kenya and Uganda were at an advanced stage. The president said he would soon send a Kenyan high commissioner to Kampala and hoped that Uganda would do the same in order to fully promote the interests of the peoples of the two countries. President Moi reiterated that in order to attain full reconstruction of Uganda, that country's people had to be one. President Moi was speaking at the Rock Hotel in Tororo, Uganda where he held talks with the Ugandan president, Yoweri Museveni.

The president said that Kenya would continue to give everything in this regard, adding that the suffering of the people of Uganda was the suffering of the people of Kenya. He said that now that relations between the two countries have been normalized, it would be better for the two countries to move faster in tackling the problems facing the people of the two countries, and especially the youth. He said he would himself ensure that Kenya played its full part in that regard. He said that Kenya's participation in promoting the welfare of the two peoples was based on the belief that the well-being of people depended on the leaders.

President Moi recalled that during the struggle for independence by African states he used to attend a meeting of the Pan-African Movement for East and Central Africa, PAFMECA, in Mbale, Uganda. He noted that during those days, the freedom fighters were fired by the commitment for African dignity and patriotism. Noting that such ideals were now dying out, President Moi urged the younger people to direct their militancy to the revival of those ideals, and especially the dignity of the African person.

President Moi called for security to be tightened so that there is peace, which is vital for the development of the

two countries. He noted that the people of Kenya and Uganda were one, but had been dismembered by colonialism in their divide and rule tactics.

President Moi thanked President Museveni for welcoming him to Uganda. He wished Uganda well in the reconstruction efforts.

President Museveni in his welcome address said he was prepared to cooperate with Kenyans in promoting the interests of the two countries and the two peoples. He said he will never tolerate or allow activities aimed at destabilizing Kenya to be carried out in Uganda. He pointed out that one of the principles of the NRM [National Resistance Movement] was not to allow the destabilization of neighboring or other countries. He pointed out that there was no need to spend badly-needed resources on suspicions. He said such resources and energy could be used for national development.

Later, a communique was signed between Kenya's minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation, Mr. Wilson Ndolo Ayah, and Uganda's second deputy prime minister and minister for foreign affairs and regional cooperation, Honorable Paul Ssemogerere. The ceremony was witnessed by the two presidents.

Among those accompanying the president were cabinet ministers Wilson Ndolo Ayah, Nicholas Biwott, Elijah Mwangale, Joseph Kamocho, Burudi Nabwera, Maalim Mohamed. [passage omitted]

At exactly 10 am President Moi, accompanied by the Kenya delegation and a large number of cheering wananchi [citizens], walked to the border point where he met President Yoweri Museveni, who had also walked from his side of the border. The two leaders shook hands heartily and then proceeded on a 10-minute drive to Rock Hotel in Tororo, the venue for the talks. On arrival at the hotel, President Moi was given a red carpet welcome by his host. He inspected a guard of honor mounted by a contingent of Uganda's NRA [National Resistance Army].

#### Communique on Ties, Gulf Crisis

EA1708184190 Nairobi KNA in English 1501 GMT  
16 Aug 90

[Joint communique issued by President Daniel arap Moi and President Yoweri Museveni; in Tororo, Uganda on 17 August]

[Text] Nairobi, 17th August—1. At the invitation of H.E. [His Excellency] President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni of the Republic of Uganda and chairman of the NRM [National Resistance Movement], His Excellency President Toroitich arap Moi of the Republic of Kenya paid a friendly visit to Uganda on Friday, 17th August 1990.

2. In a warm and cordial atmosphere, the two heads of state held talks on bilateral, regional and international issues of common concern and interest.

3. At the bilateral level, the two heads of state reviewed issues of common concern and interest with particular emphasis on good neighbourliness, security and economic co-operation.

4. On diplomatic relations, the two heads of state agreed to restore full diplomatic relations and to exchange high commissioners. On matters of security, the two heads of state agreed to strengthen the already existing contacts of security and border officials of the two countries and to work out arrangements to improve security on the common borders and to ensure co-operation in this field.

6. On economic co-operation, the two heads of state agreed to promote and strengthen co-operation in this field by establishing a permanent joint ministerial commission between the two countries.

7. At the regional level, the two heads of state took note of the areas of ongoing economic co-operation in the region, notably the PTA [Preferential Trade Area] and IGADD [Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development], and agreed to consolidate and strengthen them further.

8. The two heads of state reaffirmed their faith in the role of the OAU in resolving African conflicts and President Moi expressed appreciation at the efforts being taken by the OAU current chairman to resolve those conflicts. The two heads of state expressed full support for all ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] initiatives to restore peace in Liberia.

9. On the situation on South Africa, the two presidents welcomed the independence of Namibia and noted with satisfaction the process under way in South Africa aimed at the total eradication of apartheid. They called for the maintenance of global and mandatory sanctions until the system of apartheid is abolished in South Africa.

10. On the situation in the Middle East, they expressed very deep concern at the fluid and dangerous situation which has been precipitated in the region as a result of the Iraq invasion of Kuwait and called for the unconditional withdrawal of Iraq troops from that country and the restoration of full sovereignty to Kuwait in accordance with UN Security Council resolutions 60 (1990) and 61 (1990).

11. The two presidents expressed their appreciation for the work of the South Commission and in that regard renewed their commitment to promoting further regional and South-South cooperation within the framework of the South Commission.

12. At the end of the meeting, President Moi thanked his host President Museveni and the people of Uganda for the warm welcome extended to him and his delegation.

The communique was signed by: Kenya's minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation, Mr. Wilson Ndola Ayah, Uganda's second deputy prime minister and minister for foreign and regional affairs, Mr. Paul Kawanga Ssemogerere.

**Three ANC Officials Lose Indemnity Status**  
**MB2008070590 Umtata Capital Radio in English**  
**0600 GMT 20 Aug 90**

[Text] Three ANC [African National Congress] leaders have lost their indemnity from arrest and prosecution. The government has failed to renew the immunity granted to Mac Maharaj, Chris Hani, and Ronnie Kasrils.

In a government gazette, the authorities renewed immunity for 41 ANC and [South African] Communist Party leaders but failed to do so for the three. The indemnities expired at midnight last night.

Maharaj is in detention and Hani is in Transkei, while Kasrils is believed to be in hiding.

ANC leaders have not commented on the dropping of the indemnities. Government sources said the organization has been informed and is expected to make further representations.

**ANC's Sisulu On Talks With Inkatha Leader**  
**MB1808190390 Johannesburg Television Service**  
**in English 1800 GMT 18 Aug 90**

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] internal leader Mr. Walter Sisulu has reacted to the suggestion that the violence in black townships could be halted through negotiations between the ANC and Inkatha leaders. Mr. Sisulu was interviewed in Soweto.

[Begin video recording] [Sisulu] It is no easy task to deal with powerful forces which are promoting violence in every part of the country, and therefore it's not a question of putting dates. We have a duty to try and bring about a more stable situation in the country. How effective they are may take time, but that is our function.

[Unidentified reporter] Finally, many people are saying a meeting between Mr. Mandela and Buthelezi will bring an end to violence. How urgent are these meetings?

[Sisulu] That is a most disastrous type of approach. That approach means that the Inkatha launches a war in order to bring us to our knees. For that type of a thing we are not prepared. We are working on the question of peace generally. We have selected top executive members to deal with that situation in Natal, precisely because we want them to find a way. We want unity of our people, irrespective of where they come from, irrespective of who they are. We are aware that the forces that are opposed to us, those who think of destroying us, will use every opportunity to destroy the ANC. [end recording]

**Buthelezi Reacts**  
**MB1908200990 Johannesburg Television Service**  
**in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 19 Aug 90**

[Interview with Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, kwaZulu chief minister and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party by unidentified reporter; date, place not given; recorded]

[Text] Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KwaZulu Chief Minister and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, says the statements by African National Congress [ANC] internal leader Mr. Walter Sisulu, that Inkatha is orchestrating the violence in the country, is disturbing. He said such war talk is irresponsible and only serves to fan the flames of violence.

Dr. Buthelezi said that the present time, while so many people are losing their lives, is precisely the time for the country's leaders to cooperate. No one can afford to try to score points.

[Begin video recording in English] [Buthelezi] You know, Mr. Sisulu I have always regarded in our politics as one of the elder statesmen. I feel that his statement doesn't help us at all, because it only stokes the fires of violence when he talks about war. I mean, the kind of war talk that he indulged in was extremely irresponsible, if I may say so, with all due humility to what he said. I believe that we need, all of us as leaders, need to be constructive at this time. We must remember that people's lives have been lost, and that people's lives are being lost. We can't afford to be posturing and to be trying to score points.

[Reporter] What about allegations by the ANC that Inkatha is directly responsible for exporting the violence from Natal to the Transvaal to fight for its existence in the political arena?

[Buthelezi] Well, of course, that is a lot of balderdash in the first place, because the violence started, if you remember, in the Vaal triangle, when Councillor Jacob Dlamini was killed, and subsequently, after that, there was necklacing and so on. That's why the government clamped on the whole country with the state of emergency, because.... [changes thought] it was all that violence which prompted, you know, Archbishop Tutu to say he will take his children and go away if this is repeated, when Miss Make Sikoana was necklaced.

So it's not true at all that the violence, you know, is being imported, because all that has happened is that, with the lifting of the state of emergency in the Transvaal except in Natal and, you know, in other parts, it has resurfaced, that's all that has happened. The tensions are very much there. Those who indulge in war talk, those who want to promote a people's war, have a free ride, as far as that is concerned, in promoting that kind of war.

You see, it's nonsense to say that Inkatha, who is a peaceful organization, has imported the violence in order to justify or in fact to survive politically.

[Reporter] What about the peace forum set up by Minister Vlok and Mr. Mandela on Thursday [16 Aug]? Will Inkatha be taking part?

[Buthelezi] Well, I spoke to Mr. Vlok. Mr. Vlok told me that the talks he had with Mr. Mandela were only talks about the structures that were set up under the Groote Schuur Minute in which we were not involved. But I

hope to see Mr. Vlok on Tuesday this week, you know, because clearly it is really asking for too much if Mr. Vlok—or the president, if I may say so, with respect—can think that they can sort out the problems of violence in which my organization and people, you know, that come from kwaZulu, are involved, and think that they can sort it out, you know, by themselves. That is nonsense. It's like having phuthu [corn meal porridge] without mealie meal [corn meal]. [end recording]

**Talks With Zimbabwe Reportedly Continue**  
*MB1908132090 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES  
in English 19 Aug 90 p 4*

[“Zimbabwe and SA Come Out of the Cold,” article by Don Jacobs, Harare.]

[Text] Despite a blanket of official silence, South Africa's hush-hush diplomacy with Zimbabwe is continuing to thaw frosty relations between the two countries.

Government spokesmen have said nothing of the secret contacts which led to a statement by Zimbabwe's Minister of Home Affairs, Moven Mahachi, that a policy of “good neighbourliness” was being followed.

At a meeting of the Britain-Zimbabwe Society in Harare this week, local businessmen expressed anxiety that their country could be left behind by the pace of developments in South Africa.

**Progress**

Top Lornho executive John Deary, head of the Confederation of Zimbabwean Industries, told the meeting that contacts with South Africa were cautious as Zimbabwe wanted to see “progress towards democracy.”

Said Mr. Deary: “We are talking with representatives of South Africa both in this country and countries to the north of us, in terms of future trading relations.”

**Treurnicht Addresses Party Congress on Government**  
*MB1908044290 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2051 GMT 18 Aug 90*

[Text] Pretoria Aug 18 SAPA—The Conservative Party [CP] on Saturday [18 Aug] declared itself irrevocably committed to “the Third Freedom Struggle” and agreed to discuss the party's strategy in this regard.

Opening the Eighth Transvaal CP Congress, leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht asked if the government realised what it meant when it claimed it was “irrevocable on the way to a new, fair South Africa.”

Did the government want to hand over the power or share it before they lost it, he asked almost 1,500 delegates. The Congress unanimously agreed to discuss the party's strategy for the “Third Freedom Struggle” for Afrikaner liberation. Dr. Treurnicht told the delegates the Third Freedom Struggle should not be seen merely as a military struggle.

“Only in extreme cases does a nation show resistance. Thus the struggle for freedom must be seen in a much wider perspective.”

During his opening address Dr. Treurnicht said as the leader of a political party, President F.W. de Klerk could not claim immunity when people showed their dissatisfaction at his dangerous political direction. Dr. Treurnicht was referring to the disruption by rightwingers of a meeting addressed by President de Klerk at Vryheid on Thursday. He said a political leader would not be “jeered” by his own people if he sided with them.

He said neither he nor the CP was prepared to take responsibility for the disruption without an impartial investigation, adding that he had been informed that it was not a CP member who threw a teargas grenade into the hall at the Vryheid meeting. Dr. Treurnicht asked to what extent the state president intended using the police to smother protest.

Referring to disruptions when Mr. de Klerk spoke at the University of Pretoria recently, Dr. Treurnicht asked if Mr. de Klerk really expected university students to “listen like angels” while he handed the country to a black ANC [African National Congress] government. Dr. Treurnicht said he accepted full responsibility for the statement he made at Bloemfontein on the right of people to resist the authorities.

“It is not a crime to think about resistance when your freedom is being attacked.”

He said if the government played right into the hands of the ANC, the CP's right to resist would become even stronger. The government could not hide behind democracy because it took the law into its own hands and in some cases ruled unlawfully. Dr. Treurnicht asked how the government expected people to remain calm when facilities were being opened to all races. When the government wanted to “de-white” (ontblank) the whites as a nation. If the government did not please the ANC, the ANC would threaten to use violence.

Dr. Treurnicht asked if the government ever thought what the effect of a necklace murder by the ANC on a white would be. The CP had made its choice: “Justice for everybody, also for our own nation on our own land.” To succeed, partition was the only answer, Dr. Treurnicht added.

Almost all the issues suggested for discussion were accepted by the Congress. These included:

- The threat by the ANC/SACP [South African Communist Party] to take over political power in South Africa by violence to be answered with “efficient resistance” from the CP.
- The CP's refusal to take part in negotiations where the ANC and the SACP were present.

—The possible use of facilities at the Voortrekker Monument and the use of all white tertiary institutions by the ANC.

Congress delegates further undertook to boycott "left and liberal" newspapers and support all objective newspapers.

They also demanded that the state president prohibit the planned ANC Congress on December 16.

A constitution based on a bill of rights and government proposals for new education models and mixed local governments were also rejected by the delegates.

### Reportage of Nationwide Unrest, Violence

#### Rand Death Toll Reaches 345

MB2008100290 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0900 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] The killings go on at black residential areas and squatter camps on the Rand, where the official number of dead has reached 345.

Fierce fighting continued between factions of Kwa-Thema on the East Rand this morning. Scores of policemen had to be deployed at hostels.

Our reporter says about 200 armed youths gathered on the eastern side of Kwa-Thema following rumors of an attack on the town.

The wounded continued to pour into the Nataalspruit Hospital. Hundreds of people have been wounded since the fighting broke out on the East Rand a week ago. Scores of the wounded are being treated for bullet wounds. The number of people killed on the East Rand has reached 248.

The bodies of 10 people apparently killed on Saturday [18 Aug] were found in Soweto, bringing the number of people killed since fighting broke out on Thursday [16 Aug] to 94. It was quiet in Soweto last night.

Violence has broken out anew in Kagiso on the West Rand, where it had been comparatively quiet in the past fortnight. Three people were killed and four seriously wounded when two factions clashed.

#### Reef Death Toll Stands at 291

MB2008090390 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0500 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Excerpt] The death toll from violence sweeping the Reef stands at 291. Police set the death toll in Soweto at 78 since Thursday [16 Aug] and at 49 on the East Rand over the weekend.

The police say 433 people have been wounded in Soweto, almost half of them by guns. Battles between residents and hostel dwellers continue sporadically over the weekend.

A man was killed in Tembisa yesterday afternoon, giving rise to fears that the violence is going to shift there next. [passage omitted]

#### SADF Ordered to Soweto 'Immediately'

MB1808091090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0907 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 18 SAPA—Police reinforcements supported by SADF [South African Defense Force] units are to be sent into Soweto to quell the violence.

The commissioner of police, Gen. Johann van der Merwe, has ordered that a strong contingent of policemen with SADF back-up be sent into Soweto immediately.

He said everything would be done to stop the "senseless violence" that was taking place in the area where the death toll has risen to 50.

#### Analysts Look at Causes of Violence

MB1908113890 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR  
in English 19 Aug 90 p 8

[By Lauren Segal, Graeme Simpson and Lloyd Vogelman]

[Text] The death of almost 200 people in the last few days in townships on the Reef—in particular Thokoza, Katlehong and Vosloorus—parallels the worst civil violence in South Africa's history.

It is yet another example of the spiral of violence sweeping the country, at a time when the political emphasis is firmly on negotiation and national reconciliation.

A large part of the media has labelled the conflict as a bloody clash between Zulu and Xhosa-speaking people but this partially obscures the complex reality which lies behind the violence.

Ethnic explanations such as these fail to pierce the veil of apartheid and therefore don't take into account other factors, such as who the leading protagonists in the battle are, the conditions under which they live, and the political forces and motives operating in the affected communities.

Ultimately, explanation for the current violence can only be found in the combination of political conflict and material conditions which overlays and feeds the issues of ethnic identity in the lives of these protagonists.

The era of negotiations brings not only the prospect of peace, but heightened political tensions as well. Throughout South Africa, the tentative negotiation process opens important arenas of power to contest as the

political players jockey for position. The resultant struggles are often violent and ruthless. It is primarily these political issues that have determined the course of the violence.

The ANC [African National Congress] appears to have little to gain from the current conflict. On the contrary, the violence has some potential for undermining some of its grassroots support, particularly as many ANC supporters in the affected areas feel themselves to be under threat and unprotected—at a time when the organisation has committed itself to the cessation of armed struggle.

The appalling conditions in both the single-sex hostels and the squatter camps lend themselves to the potential outbreak of violence.

The hostels have become the flashpoint of bloody confrontations. Isolated and often prison-like, they are the breeding grounds for an aggressive and machismo culture unrestrained by the stabilising presence of families.

Living in a hostel helps foster a group identity, firstly, because hostels have historically been run along ethnic lines.

Secondly, for the hostel residents there is a shared daily experience, all of which make them extremely amenable to being organised.

As a result, particular hostels often become strongholds of particular organisations. This helps to explain some of the organised nature of the current violence centered around the hostels. The violence we are witnessing is not a spontaneous outbreak of ethnic conflict. It is organised, orchestrated and planned.

One of the things that has been demonstrated in the current violence, particularly that which occurred on Thursday [16 Aug] in Soweto, is how the hostel was used by its Zulu residents as a military establishment from where attacks were planned and initiated. And when the residents faced a counter-attack by young "comrades," as they were in Soweto, the hostel became a fortress in which to retreat.

The other main actors implicated in the violence are the squatting communities surrounding the hostels. In many respects, the squatters live under even more adverse conditions than the hostel dwellers. The camps also live under the daily threat of destruction.

Most inhabitants of both the Phola squatter camp in Thokoza, and the Crossroads squatter camp in Katlehong, are either lodgers or backyard dwellers from the surrounding townships forced out of the township because of the drastic shortage of space, or are migrants who have moved out of the hostels to be with their families.

Since their establishment, the camps have been involved in frequent clashes with the police, who are seeking their removal. As a result, the squatters are highly volatile, defensive communities.

These conditions help set much of the tone of the violence that occurred between the squatter community, largely Xhosa-speaking, and the Zulu-speaking hostel dwellers.

However, it is important to note that this conflict would not have arisen in Thokoza had Xhosa-speakers not been driven out of certain hostels by Zulu inmates.

Ultimately, what we are witnessing is the importation of political conflicts from the Natal hinterland to the Transvaal townships. If we are to see the hand that lies behind the violence, we need to understand which organised political interests are being served by it.

One of the tragedies of last week's violence, however, is not only the hundreds of fatalities, the numerous injuries and the great emotional pain for those who have lost loved ones, but the likelihood that the violence will continue.

#### Growth of Rightwing Organizations Examined

MB1808134090 Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR  
in English 18 Aug 90 p 3

[By Dawn Barkhuisen]

[Text] About 20 right-wing organisations described as fanatical or fundamental—some with members committed to violence—are known to exist in South Africa.

The [word indistinct] of organizations such as the Flamingoes and the Order of Death is unknown and some may have overlapping membership or may exist in name only.

Police, for example, continue to dispute the existence of an organisation called the Wit Wolwe [White Wolves], maintaining that mass killer Barend Strydom was a lone Wit Wolf and that others may have subsequently latched on to the name.

Political consultant Wim Booysse says speculation has it that there are as many as 45 Afrikaner fundamentalist, four-member terrorist cells deployed in the country and that this number could be increasing daily.

Mr. Booysse has identified a total of 70 groups on the Right—15 cultural/political, two women's groups, seven churches, four political parties, eight para-military groups, 28 fundamentalists groups, four trade unions and two dormant organisations.

Associate professor for sociology at the University of South African and right-wing specialist, Janice Grobelaar, says since February 2 there has been a proliferation of right-wing splinter organisations threatening violence.

This has been in reaction to a belief amongst some Afrikaners and other whites that the constitutional options are closing, she said.

There has also been a significant growth in the number of English speaking right-wing supporters. This group comprises a mix of white supremacists, miners and ex-Rhodesians who had been through the Rhodesian bush war and were not prepared to go through it again.

While Professor Grobelaar did not believe the fanatical right-wing groups were linked on an organisational level, she says they were nevertheless united in their common opposition to fundamental change.

Vigilante groups like Blanke Veiligheid [White Security], started by Hennie Muller in Welkom, was proto-typical and such organisations were likely to breed at a rapid rate, she said.

While these groups argued persuasively that they only aimed to protect whites, their potential for violence was great. Military training thinly disguised as self-defence is regularly given to members.

Many of the right-wing organisations appeared to depend on rhetoric rather than anything else for their appeal, Professor Grobelaar said.

The AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] is one example. The organisation and its leader Eugene Terreblanche have adopted a high profile, becoming easily identifiable by their neo-Nazi ensignia. However, despite the threats, bluster and horseback marches, there is no hard evidence that the AWB has sanctioned violence.

Professor Grobelaar said there were suggestions that some right-wing white supremacist organisations might be linked to neo-Nazi organisations in Europe and South America. She said there was a growing belief among rightwingers in South Africa that the Holocaust never took place and was part of a Jewish/Communist plot.

Rightwingers are also reportedly as saying they had instructors from Belgium, Israel and Britain's crack Special Air Services (SAS) and even the IRA [Irish Republican Army].

In fact, the rightwing has become something of a *cause célèbre* and their cause has been romanticised by the media—South Africa's most wanted man Piet "Skiet" Rudolph is now being referred to as the Boere Pimpernell.

Both Professor Grobelaar and the chief of the Police Division of Public Relations, Major General Herman Stadler say the media could be responsible for giving right-wing fanatics considerably more stature than they had in reality.

General Stadler dismisses many of the organisations as nothing more than "hot air" and likely to be nothing more than one-man bands. It was possible that only very few people were behind the throwing of bombs and hand grenades.

Professor Grobelaar said: "To suggest that there are hundreds of thousands of armed people committed to

violence is highly questionable. Pro-violence people must be seen in the broader context of the right-wing movement."

### List of Organizations

MB1808112090 Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR  
in English 18 Aug 90 p 10

[By Dawn Barkhuizen]

### [Text] POLITICAL PARTIES

—Conservative Party [CP]: Led by Dr. Andries Treurnicht, the CP broke away from the National Party on the issue of power sharing in 1982 and has been the official Opposition since 1987. There has been substantial growth reflected in their performance in the general elections of 1987 and 1989. Evidence of its growing confidence is shown by its readiness to contest a Democratic Party held seat such as Randburg. Regarding violence, Dr. Treurnicht is on record as saying whites have the right to defend themselves but they should not take the law into their own hands—such defence was only acceptable in the absence of the police. Up to now they had done nothing but explore the constitutional options open to opposing the Government. The main issue between the CP and other right-wing groups was its attitude to an all-white Volkstaat. On this issue Dr. Treurnicht is ambiguous, referring mainly to partition. They recently hinted that they are considering non-violent extra-Parliamentary action such as strike and boycott options.

—Herstigte Nasionale Party [Reformed National Party]: Led by Jaap Marais, the HNP has no seats in Parliament. It has only held one seat since the 1970 general election. It has never supported the Volkstaat idea, but rather a Verwoerdian white South Africa, and rejects privatisation out of hand. After substantial growth between 1970 and 1981 the HNP lost most of their support base to the CP in 1987.

—Volkstaat Party [National Homeland Party]: Non-operative political party registered by the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement].

### FANATICAL GROUPS AND VIGILANTES

—Boerestaat Party [Boer Homeland Party]: Members have featured prominently in connection with the recent right-wing terror activity. Deputy leader, Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, South Africa's most wanted man, is being sought in connection with the Good Friday weapons heist from Air Force headquarters in Pretoria. He has admitted to bombing Melrose House and claims he was among a group who shot at marchers in Sebokeng recently. He distributed a video of himself flanked by armed masked men proclaiming the "Boere Oorlog" had started. Boerestaat Party leader Dr. Robert van Tonder, recently had his home raided by police. The organisation aims to recreate the Transvaal, Vryheid and [Orange] Free State republics. They

reject the terms "Afrikaner" and "Suid-Afrikaner" calling themselves "Boere." Last year strength was estimated at a few hundred.

—**Boereverstandsbeweging [BWB—Boer Resistance Movement]:** A military wing of the Boerestaat Party attempting to mobilise a Boere army. Andrew Ford is the leader. The commanding officer of the BWB commandos and chief of training, Petrus Bester, is out on bail after being detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act on July 6 and later charged with illegal possession of arms.

—**Penta: Die Orde van die Dood [The Order of the Dead]:** A racist violent group led by Johan Dempers. They are prepared to go to any lengths to protect what they perceive to be the interests of the Afrikaner nation and to further Afrikaner interests. Police are seeking members in connection with National Party offices [as published] on the Reef, two house bomb blasts and attacks on the homes of right wingers. They are also being sought in connection with blasts on the home of a Jewish DP councillor, a blast at the Rosettenville synagogue and the bombing of the offices of the newspaper, VRYE WEEKBLAD. Members allegedly planned to assassinate the state president and three cabinet ministers.

—**Die Orde van die Oop Palm (Doop)/Orde Boerevolk [The Order of the Open Palm/Boer National Order]:** Little is known about this shadowy organisation other than that members claim it is a splinter of the "Wit-Wolwe." Doop delivered a "war declaration" to the British Embassy saying "Die stryd begin—Order Boerevolk". (Police remain adamant that no such group exists).

—**Mag Aksie Afrikaner Nasionalisme (MAN) [Power Action Afrikaner Nationalism]:** A recently formed hardline militant Afrikaner nationalist organisation aimed at preserving Afrikaner heritage. They refuse to hand over the country and say they will not be overwhelmed by the black majority or outside forces. Leaders are Oscar J.F. Hartung, HNP executive member and former police Colonel Servaas de Wet. (Servaas de Wet also leads the Boerekommandos—the latest in a long list of failed attempts by the AWB to get their militant wing off the ground. Their predecessors were the Stormvalke and Aquila).

—**Blanke Veiligheid [BV; White Security]:** A quasi neighbourhood watch outfit based in white Welkom. Khaki clad armed members have divided the town into sections and conduct patrols. Leader Hennie Muller also claimed to have a large black following. Mr. Muller recently gave notice of his intention to quit.

—There are similar outfits in: Riebeeckstad, Blanke Veiligheid Riebeeckstad [White Security Riebeeck's City]; Robertson, Roberton Tuiswag [Robertson Home Watch]; the West Rand, the West Rand White

Community Guard; Klerksdorp, Aksie Selfbeskerming [Action Self Protection]; and groups known to be operating in Delmas.

—**Blanke Weerstandbeweging [White Resistance Movement]:** A splinter group of Blanke Veiligheid under Jan Bezuidenhout. BWB is more militant than BV.

—**The Flamingoes:** Also based in Welkom—a group of young men who wear blue uniforms.

—**Die Vryburgers [The Free Citizens]:** This organisation aims to develop "Western civilisation." Its definition of "Western civilisation" applies to whites only. Wynand de Beer and Anton Hart run the organisation.

—**The Cape Rebel Movement:** Little is known about this organisation believed to comprise white separatists who insist on being included in a Boere homeland. Their leader is Keith Conroy.

—**Patriotic Forum Durban:** Their objectives are hazy but this group is thought to be allied to the objectives of the BBB [see below]. They hold regular meetings discussing politics, including Namibia, and pre-independence Zimbabwe. Alan Harvey is the chairman.

—**Afrikaner National Socialists[ANS]:** A neo-Nazi ultrarightwing racist organisation idolising Hitler. They believe that Jews and people of "other colour" have no right to live in South Africa and strive for a pure white South Africa.

—**World Apartheid Movement:** An international ultrarightwing racist organisation with a similar philosophy to the ANS. They strive to protect white racial purity and to achieve white dominance world wide. They believe AIDS will destroy black people who they refer to as "modderus" (the race of mud). Their leader is Koos Vermeulen.

—**The Israelites:** A far right fanatical splinter religion which believes that white South Africans are descendants of the 10 lost tribes of Israel and therefore part of chosen race. They are tied to an international Aryan movements, the Children of Israel. Bible verses are interpreted to support these claims. They promote and defend racial hatred and do not believe black people are people. They have support throughout the right.

—**Wit Bevrydingsleer (WLB) [White Liberation Army]:** Made its first appearance last month to claim responsibility for the bomb blast at a Johannesburg taxi rank in July in which 27 people were injured. Little else is known about this group.

#### Think Tanks and Cultural Organisations

—**Die Afrikaanse Volkswag:** [The Afrikaner National Watch—AV] Originally formed as the cultural arm of the Conservative Party when its leaders were thrown out of the Broederbond, the AV is at logger heads with the CP over the question of the Volkstaat. The AV

believes in self government in a white Afrikaaner homeland and seeks to remind Afrikaaners of their identity and roots. The AV is estimated to have a membership of 10,000 families (50,000 people) under the leadership of academic, Professor Carel Boshoff.

—**Die Oranjewerkers:** [The Orange Workers] Lead by ex-missionary Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, the Oranjewerkers aim at a minimum of three white mini-states at Morgenzon on the eastern Highveld, near Verwoerd Dam and on the southern Cape Coast, all free of any blacks except "visitors." The southern [Orange] Free State experiment failed as the pioneers vanished. At Morgenzon a few white families struggle on with one white-owned factory and two whites only shops.

—**Die Boerevryheidsbeweging (BWB)** [acronym as published]: [The Boer Freedom Movement] An AWB splinter group that was formed after the controversy over AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche's liaison with English speaking journalist Jani Allen. Embarrassed AWB members decided to "start all over again." Obtaining a Volkstaat remains an ideal. The leader is Jan Groenewald.

—Afrikaner Front was also formed at that time.

—**South African Bureau for Racial Affairs (SABRA):** A National Party research fund taken over by the Right in the early 1980s. Carel Boshoff is the chairman. Publishes extensively on arguments and options for a white homeland.

—**Afrikaner Vryheid Stigting:** [Afrikaner Freedom Foundation] Caarel Boshoff is the chairman. this group is considering the north Western Cape as a white homeland.

—**Foundation for Survival and Freedom:** Originally known as the Stallard Foundation. It is a forum for English-speaking conservative thinkers who agree with the principals of right wingers and are white supremacists.

## PARAMILITARY ORGANISATIONS

—**AWB:** The largest of the rightwing paramilitary organisations and has started to organise "self-defence" structures within the white community. Military training thinly disguised as self defence courses are provided to members on a regular basis. There is as yet no evidence that the AWB has sanctioned any acts of terrorism, but members and individuals associated with the group have been detained in connection with acts of terrorism. Frequent shows of "mass force" are given through armed rallies. Leader Eugene Terreblanche has never disclosed official membership numbers. A breakaway by rightwing activists Darryl Stopforth and Leonard Veenendaal has indicated infighting. The AWB has in its organisation:

—**Burgeraade/Citizens Councils:** The grassroots management of the AWB. The country is divided into more than 300 areas each with its own leader who is

responsible to a superior. There is speculation that the AWB has lost control of these organisations.

—**AWB Boerekommandos:** Commandos have already been formed in Pietersburg, Ventersdorp and Welkom under the leadership of former Colonel Poon Jacobs. Each branch is controlled by a commandant with a structure similar to that of the SADF [South African Defense Force].

—**Security Unit/Branch:** Previously Aquila. Responsible for security of property and people during meetings. they also see that law and order is maintained by members.

—**The Committee of 10:** An AWB organ similar to a Citizen's Council but only existing in the Western Cape.

The AWB also has AWB Youth, AWB Women and SWEEPSLAG, a publication.

—**Blanke Bevrydings Beweging (White Freedom Movement):** Once the only rightwing organisation to be banned, the BBB under Professor Johan Schabot, admired Hitler and believe that all blacks, Jews and British should be repatriated. They believe the heritage and serenity of the Afrikaaner nation must be defended and protected. Blanke Nasionale Beweeging operates in tandem with the BBB.

—**The New Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging—Orange Free State:** [The New Afrikaner Resistance Movement—Orange Free State] Led by Free State farmer, Eddie von Maltitz, New AWB is a fringe group trading on AWB symbols and sentiments. It has a paramilitary Aquila (not to be confused with the AWB's previous paramilitary wing Aquila) based in Boemfontein. Aquila is responsible for security during meetings and protection of property. Von Maltitz and Andries Ford are also prominent in Blanke Afrikaner Stryder Teen Agendoer (BASTA), an organisation aimed at unifying Afrikaaner groups under a common umbrella.

—**Boere-Leer (Boere Army):** Set up as an umbrella organisation to consolidate all the Boere commandos into a single "national people's army."

## Nation 'Unable' To Join Sanctions on Iraq

*MB1808074290 Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English  
16 Aug 90 p 3*

[By "Own Correspondent"]

[Text] Johannesburg—THE FINANCIAL MAIL [FM] reports today that South Africa [SA] is unable to apply sanctions against Iraq.

Quoting a "highly-placed government source" the FM said Iraq was still substantially indebted to Armscor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa], making it impossible to join the sanctions moves.

Government departments were firmly silent on a report which said the Iraq [as published] owed ARMSCOR "a great deal of money" for G-5 howitzers. The report also quotes military sources as saying that Iraq has bought at least 100 G-5s.

Questioned on TV last night, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said South Africa would do everything to support the spirit of the UN embargo and SA had no outstanding contracts for arms supplies to Iraq.

Pretoria University's Institute of Strategic Studies director Mr. Mike Hough said it would be hypocritical of SA—a victim of sanctions itself—to join the anti-Iraqi sanctions call, despite some apparent justification.

But British military analyst Simon Baynham, who is attached to the Africa Institute, said SA was unlikely to break the sanctions call.

—Our London correspondent reports that the G-5s could be used by the Iraqis to deliver shells loaded with chemical agents in the event of a war in the Gulf.

Mr. Paul Beaver of JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY said it was possible to make shells with a chemical payload to fit the 155mm howitzer. But French and American weapons in Iraqi hands could also be modified for such a purpose.

Mr. Beaver said Iraq also had an unknown number of South African-made Cactus mobile surface-to-air missile systems.

#### **De Beer Criticizes Call for Interim Government**

*MB1808153790 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 17-19 Aug 90 p 5*

[By Shaun Johnson]

[Text] Zach de Beer has come out against the African National Congress [ANC] proposals for an interim government and a national election to precede the agreement of a new constitution for South Africa.

While adopting a less aggressive tone than some colleagues in their criticism of the ANC, de Beer signalled that a political chasm still exists between an important section of the DP [Democratic Party] and the ANC.

Addressing a Democratic Party meeting in Florida last night, the DP parliamentary leader said while "F.W. de Klerk should not expect to be the referee and a major player at the same time," if he handed over to an "interim government or transitional authority—as the ANC proposes—this body would be "accountable to no-one and committed to no rules or values."

"It could well act in such a way as to shipwreck the negotiations, and where would we all be then? Or, perhaps more probably, the interim government would be so divided that it would fail to function, and chaos would ensue."

Thus de Beer, "while I am far from being the greatest admirer of the present government, I think it must continue to administer the country until such time as the new constitution has been agreed to, and an election held in terms of that constitution."

The government should not act only in the interests of its own constituency, said de Beer: "I would not consider it out of place for the government to co-opt some advisors from the extra-parliamentary organisations."

The problem of administration during transition was a vexed question which arose early on in the process, de Beer added. The final agreement of a constitution was of even greater importance.

"The ANC has proposed that there be free and fair election for a constituent or constitutional assembly," he said, "which should then negotiate and draft the constitution. Mandela says that the electoral process would give the representatives a 'mandate and legitimacy.' I wish I thought it as simple as that. "I cannot but believe that a general election would have very little to do with the terms of a new constitution and nearly everything to do with the contest for power."

"(People) ... would vote their economic grievances, or their security fears, or their ethnic prejudices. And that is bad enough in an ordinary election, but it is a terrifying prospect when there is a constitution to be written." de Beer said he favoured a referendum, in which a single question would be put to all South Africans of voting age: "Do you accept and approve of the constitution?"

Warning that the composition of delegations at the negotiating table, as well as the actual drafting of the constitution, would be extremely sensitive and difficult, de Beer said he agreed with Denis Worrall who suggested that "a person or group of people" should act as facilitator in the process of preparing the document.

Worrall had floated the notion of appointing the Chief Justice to this role, he said, and this seemed "a perfectly sensible idea ... (though) there may be alternatives."

#### **Black Townships for De Klerk, Mistrust NP**

*MB1808135090 Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English 18 Aug 90 pp 1,2*

[By Chris Moerdyk]

[Text] Research data just released shows that President F.W. de Klerk has not only gained considerable support in black townships, but an increasing number of blacks now want him as one of their leaders in the new South Africa.

But, while the independent research project indicates that Mr. de Klerk's star is rapidly rising in the townships, it also shows that blacks remain suspicious of the National Party [NP], still regarded as the "creater of apartheid," which it is relinquishing as slowly as possible and only because of internaional pressure.

The Rubicon 2 project was undertaken by the Johannesburg advertising agency McCann in May this year as a sequel to Rubicon 1, conducted shortly after Mr. de Klerk's watershed speech on February 2.

At the time, research showed that blacks generally welcomed the state president's reforms and the release of Nelson Mandela, but that two widely divergent points of view still existed in the townships—a feeling of continuing black resentment and a new spirit of reconciliation.

Latest research shows black middle and upper-income residents of Transvaal townships believe the NP is not to be trusted, that it still maintains double standards and that it is only President de Klerk who is committed to change, and not his party.

The majority view Inkatha "with loathing" and see it as a narrow tribal party that is not as much representative of Zulu interests as it is of its leader's political ambitions.

The planning director of the McCann Group, Sue Lerner, who coordinated both Rubicon research projects, said it was "impossible" to conduct research in Natal because of intimidation.

"While it was expected that a certain resentment of Inkatha would come out of research conducted only in the Transvaal, what was staggering was the degree of this resentment. Blacks outside of Natal, including many Zulus, seemed almost to consider Inkatha a greater danger than many radical white right-wing movements."

She added that Rubicon 2 supported the findings of research published by the Argus Newspaper Group last week.

In general, all respondents in the Rubicon 2 project saw the ANC [African National Congress] as being representative of a non-racial society.

It was also seen as the party most actively promoting black advancement and the establishment of a "middle class." Respondents ascribed ANC supporters as "those who can forgive and forget."

In contrast, the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] was seen as an uncompromising, hard-line, non-conciliatory party referred to by a number of respondents as a "black AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement]."

Research showed considerable support for Nelson Mandela as a future president, with Mr. de Klerk as Vice-President.

Only a few respondents were in favour of changing the country's name to Azania, with the majority believing that as South Africa was well-known internationally a "new name would be confusing."

They also believed that the names of major towns were also well-known and acceptable. With regard to the flag, the majority of respondents envisaged a new flag that at least incorporated ANC colours.

#### Oil Exploration Company Announces 'Major' Find

*MB1708172690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1531 GMT 17 Aug 90*

[Text] Cape Town Aug 17 SAPA—Soekor [Southern Oil Exploration Company] on Friday [17 Aug] announced a major oil find 95km south of Stilbaai, near Mossel Bay.

In a statement, the company said the discovery had been made at the borehole E-BT1 and was yielding 7,700 barrels a day. Tests recorded 3.4-million cubic feet of gas a day through a one inch choke.

However, Soekor was cautious about the reserves that could be exploited.

"Although the oil column of approximately 27m [meters] is the best yet discovered in South African waters, there is reason to believe that the reservoir itself is not very large," said the oil exploration company.

#### Western Province Police Issue Unrest Report

*MB1708113290 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0909 GMT 14 Aug 90*

[Text] Cape Town Aug 17 SAPA—The unrest report for the Western Province Division of the SA Police [SAP] from 6am Thursday to 6am Friday [17 Aug] as released by the police in Cape Town on Friday.

— "Old Crossroads: two incidents of arson in which four dwellings were destroyed;

"Shots were fired at a house and police who sped to the scene returned fire;

"A petrol bomb was thrown at the house of a special constable. Shots were fired at him and he returned fire;

"Shots were fired at a special constable guarding the Noxolo secondary school. He returned fire.

"No reports of injuries in the above incidents.

— "Worcester: sporadic stone-throwing at the Ribbon Cafe in Hamner Road. Police vehicles were also stoned.

"About 100 youths gathered in front of the cafe and stoned cafe and broke windows. Two men tried to break down the front door and the owner shot and wounded a 22-year-old man who was carried off by his friends. He was later arrested at the Eben Donges Hospital and is being treated under police guard. Early today attempts were made to set the cafe alight. Police fired two shots and the youths fled.

— "Robertson: petrol bombs and stones thrown at offices of the Labour Party in the coloured township Burnheim. Damage to building reported.

— "Oudtshoorn: a house damaged in the black township Bongolethu after a petrol bomb exploded in the lounge."

17 Aug Press Review on Current Problems, Issues  
MB1708154590

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

**ANC, Inkatha Must End East Rand 'Brutality'**—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 16 August notes in a page 6 editorial that the current township unrest is "brutality of an indescribable kind." "The Natal war has come to the Transvaal with an added, terrible dimension—it is turning into an ethnic battle between Zulus and Xhosas and if there is no end to this warfare, the whole country could become a battlefield." "Surely all violence, by all organisations involved in the political struggle, must stop. That is why the ANC [African National Congress] must not say that it has suspended the armed struggle, meaning the bullets will stop, without saying at the same time that all violence and intimidation will be ended as well." "Inkatha, too, must pledge itself to non-violence." "Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi must declare an armistice. After that, they will have to see to it that their respective organisations keep the peace."

BUSINESS DAY

**Mandela, Buthelezi Must Bury Differences**—"The meeting between government Ministers under President de Klerk and ANC leaders under deputy president Nelson Mandela is a first and necessary step towards curbing the violence now threatening to wreak in the Transvaal the devastation it has wrought in Natal," states Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 17 August in a page 10 editorial. However, "unlike law and order, peace cannot be imposed. The forces for which President de Klerk is responsible cannot hope to quell the violence unless Mandela and Buthelezi bury their differences and actively persuade their respective supporters to do likewise."

THE WEEKLY MAIL

**Buthelezi Must Show Peace His 'First Priority'**—Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English for 17-19 August in a page 5 editorial notes "African National Congress Deputy President Nelson Mandela stuck his neck out in an attempt to assist Natal peace efforts earlier this year when he called on his troops to throw their weapons into the sea. That did not go down too well, but Mandela did not back off from his position. His counterpart in Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, however, has put out contradictory messages." Therefore, "the time has come for Buthelezi to reciprocate Mandela's gesture with a bold move of his own—not mere words, but something significant enough to convince all of us, and particularly his own supporters, that peace is his first priority."

SOWETAN

**Blacks Must Regain 'High Moral Ground'**—"There was a time when the struggle for black liberation in this country had the support of all decent men and women around the world. But now it seems to be descending into chaos that cannot be justified," writes Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 17 August in a page 6 editorial. "The saddest part of this is that the friends we have made in the international community are confused. They are wondering if they have in fact been supporting a just cause all along. The black community needs to get back on high moral ground and the route to that is to stop the violence in the townships; to get the children back to school to learn; and to return to the high values that have sustained the struggle for all these years."

NEW NATION

**'Who Will Protect Us From the Police?'**—Johannesburg NEW NATION in English for 17-23 August in a page 6 editorial, in discussing the current violence on the East Rand and the role of the police, asks "What, then, are people supposed to do when that very state security apparatus turns on them and attacks defenceless people? Who will protect us from the police?" "The attitude of the police is one of reckless men that are bent on scuppering the talks and plunging the country into the dark depths of wanton violence. Could it be that the attitude of the police reflects that of government? If it does not reflect that of the government, one wonders if in fact we are negotiating with the right partners in government."

DIE BURGER

**CP Should Abandon Idea of White Homeland**—"The more the Conservative Party [CP] propagates the idea of a white homeland and opposes the process of negotiations, the clearer it becomes that the viewpoint held by the CP is untenable," opines Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 14 August in a page 10 editorial. "This is evident in an interview with CP leader Dr. A.P. Treurnicht in his party's propaganda newspaper. In the interview he stresses that the CP will never participate in the process of negotiations in which the surrender of power to a black government is put to the test. Dr. Treurnicht says, "We demand that the whites have a right to govern themselves in their own mother country." "Since the CP moved away from the National Party in 1982, the voters have been waiting in vain for the CP to define the borders of the chosen homeland." "It is unthinkable that whites should demand a separate area without first negotiating with other inhabitants of the country about the location of such an area. At least Dr. Treurnicht said earlier this year that a multiracial Azania [South Africa] can exist alongside this white homeland. Professor Carel Boshoff said that the only solution for the survival of Afrikaners is for them to move because a white homeland should not bring about the removal of millions of people. He believes that the answer lies in negotiations." "As long as the CP refuses to become a party to the process of negotiations, its policy on the establishment of a CP homeland will remain meaningless."

**\* Mandela Urged To Settle ANC Contradictions**

90AF0502G Johannesburg *FINANCIAL MAIL*  
in English 20 Jul 90 p 35

[Text] Nelson Mandela, like Jan Smuts before him, has clearly enjoyed his extended appearance on the world stage. Perhaps, like Smuts, he will find himself longing for European halls of state and the UN when he finally begins to address the huge problems that await him at home.

The time is fast approaching when Mandela must come back to earth. The political honeymoon cannot go on indefinitely. Mandela will cease to be an icon and become a man again. The process will surely begin when he touches down at Jan Smuts.

Mandela's foreign journey was a media triumph. Four prominent American analysts were asked by the SA [South African] Institute of International Affairs to assess Mandela's U.S. tour. All responded positively to Mandela and each highlighted his success in winning the favor of the American people. But there were qualifications.

Robert Rotberg compared Mandela to Winston Churchill and argued that Mandela advanced the cause of the ANC [African National Congress] "immeasurably" as a result of his address to Congress. Rotberg also says Mandela's softened attitude toward nationalization was received favorably by many newspapers.

Robert Price, of the University of California, says Mandela has laid the foundation for a "special relationship between the U.S. and SA in a post-apartheid future," but he is also skeptical. He says the response to Mandela was not based on a sympathy for the situation in SA, but was rather a "reflection on the problems of an American society (which) knows little about SA and even less about the ANC."

This is indirectly backed by Cedric Suzman, of the Southern Center for International Studies in Atlanta, who points to Mandela's popularity among black Americans. Suzman notes that 38 predominantly black universities have awarded Mandela honorary doctorates.

Michael Clough, of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, puts Mandela on the same plane as Gorbachev, Havel of Czechoslovakia and Poland's Walesa.

Clough argues that Mandela set out on his tour with five goals and achieved them:

- Preventing the lifting of sanctions;
- Enhancing the credibility of the ANC by dispelling the notion of the organization as Marxist or terrorist;
- Raising funds for the ANC;
- Strengthening his own political position in relation to President F. W. de Klerk; and
- Reassuring Western investors that post-apartheid SA will provide the location for future investment.

But The New York Times wondered whether the maintenance of sanctions would not "undercut a leader committed to change," thereby making De Klerk's task more difficult. Mandela's tributes to Gaddafi, Arafat and Castro drew this sharp response from the same paper: "If there is no responsibility to assert human dignity except on one's own turf, why should Americans be any more involved in judging SA than Mandela is in judging Libya's terrorism?"

Perhaps the nature of Mandela's success in the U.S. is better analyzed by a more detached British sensibility. The Spectator, in a leading article on July 7, wrote: "Here was modern mass politics in all its superficiality, the continuation of show business by other means. One would hardly have guessed that the political and economic destinies of 30m people were at stake: it was the triumph of packaging over product."

"It is possible," The Spectator noted, after expressing grave disquiet at Mandela's thinking on economics, "that leaders do not always mean what they say: but until they reach power, we have nothing else by which to judge them."

A more chilling interpretation is provided by Bill Jamieson, influential City columnist on The Daily Telegraph, reacting to Mandela's performance at a Commonwealth Institute dinner with senior London merchant bankers, including representatives from Warburgs and Rothschilds.

"The physical exhaustion of Mandela was apparent," writes Jamieson. "But most troubling of impressions taken away was the evident confusion over economic thinking and the extent of nationalization envisaged... Growth is the crowbar without which politics is rhetoric... (and) it appalls everyone with any degree of goodwill for the new SA that its fate may be foredoomed by economic nostrums that have so spectacularly crashed to bankruptcy."

"But," continues Jamieson, "within the ANC, a body so riven by faction and dispute that it is by no means clear whether Mandela speaks with overwhelming authority, this penny has still to fall."

And there is the essence of the difficulties which now confront Nelson Mandela. He is fast approaching the point where he will have to clear up the vast confusion; decide which of the many contradictory ANC statements in fact represent its policy; stop equivocating on the armed struggle and economic policy; become a tactician rather than a rhetorician; and demonstrate both that he is indeed the leader of the ANC and has an awareness that leadership means risks.

It is precisely because of Mandela's remarkable stature that the country has, in a sense, been on hold since his departure. Now the image must be translated into the hard choices of practical politics, or it will diminish rapidly and be of no use to anyone.

As one English analyst has noted: "The trouble is that dignity is not enough..."

\* ANC Shift to 'Economic Warfare' Seen  
90AF0518C Cape Town *WEEKEND ARGUS*  
in English 21 Jul 90 p 14

[Commentary by Frans Esterhuyse: "Economy To Be the New Battlefield?"]

[Text] As President F.W. Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela gear up for their next round of talks for the removal of the last obstacles to negotiation, a new factor is emerging which could bedevil their efforts—the growing battle on the economic front.

Countrywide strikes, consumer boycotts, rent boycotts with huge backlogs of unpaid rentals and services accounts to local authorities, and now the new land occupation protest campaign have a potential for new tensions and conflict.

In political and academic circles the question is being posed: Is all this a sign that the ANC [African National Congress]'s emphasis on "armed struggle" is now shifting to a form of economic warfare?

ANC spokesmen are guarded on the motivation for economic action, but academic specialists in strategic studies see the wave of economic protest actions as an ominous development if it is more than just pre-negotiation positioning or power play.

Business leaders warn it could endanger an already weak economy.

Some analysts view as significant the shift in the "struggle" to the economic front on the heels of mounting opposition to the "armed struggle" inside SA and abroad where Mr Mandela faced some sharp criticism on this issue during his recent tour. And in SA [South African] President De Klerk has identified it as a major obstacle to negotiations.

Professor Deon Fourie, professor of strategic studies at the University of Pretoria, said he thought the intensification of protest action on the economic front could be partly aimed at destabilising the government.

"I have a strong hunch it is part of a game to force the government to a point where it will surrender.... When one looks at revolutions elsewhere and in history, there can be no doubt that attempts towards a revolution are still being made in South Africa. If you can destabilise a society so that everybody is confused, then you get an opportunity to take over power."

Pronouncements by the ANC, the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and other organisations show that the earlier concept of negotiating not to share power but to seize power is still alive. The PAC and some other black organisations have rejected Tuynhuys-type negotiations

and there are indications the ANC is not keen on a Namibia-type settlement in South Africa.

Professor Fourie pointed out that not all industrial strikes and other actions on the economic front should be regarded as politically motivated or dismissed as "communist plots." In some cases these are genuine disputes about valid grievances.

The ANC appears to be reluctant to show its hand in regard to strikes, boycotts and related actions. Repeated attempts by *WEEKEND ARGUS* to seek the ANC's stand met with no response. Questions put to the organisation but remaining unanswered dealt with issues such as the basic causes of strikes and other actions, how long such actions will continue, what should be done to end such actions, and the expected effects on the country's economy and on future prospects for workers.

However an influential ANC ally, Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo, clearly spelled out his organisation's viewpoint this week. He told *WEEKEND ARGUS* the key reason for the country-wide strikes was "poverty wages" still being paid to many workers.

"Our view is that the large companies have amassed huge profits and even today they are hiding such profits in their balance sheets," Mr Naidoo said. "Our demands are reasonable; for example, in the mining industry a minimum wage of R600 a month and in OK Bazaars R800 a month, at a time when business consultant Stewart Pennington puts the minimum living wage for a family of five at between R1,100 and R1,200."

He remarked on a phenomenon about South Africa: When steps were taken by the people in Eastern Europe to end dictatorships, the actions were welcomed in South Africa, whereas moves in South Africa to end an even more brutal rule and exploitation are met with criticism.

Mr Naidoo said the motivation behind the present wave of actions on the economic front had a strong political element.

"Workers have played a key role in bringing down apartheid. We will continue to play that key role in a post-apartheid South Africa."

"We are committed to building a vibrant economy that is productive and grows, but this economy must deliver the needs of all the people and not just those of a racist minority."

Warnings expressing grave concern among leaders of organised commerce and industry about possible effects of economic "warfare" on the country's ailing economy have come from both the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI).

AHI president Mr Tom de Beer says the wave of protest actions in the economic field, including violence, strikes and organised stayaways, is counter-productive and economically crippling.

Sacob deputy director-general Mr Ron Haywood told **WEEKEND ARGUS** that current action had an "extremely destabilising effect" and would lead to a loss of confidence both nationally and internationally.

Dr Ockie Stuart, of Stellenbosch University's Bureau of Economic Research, said the strikes and related actions could only be economically detrimental. The causes were not clear, but it appeared there was a mixture of economic and political reasons—"all symptomatic of a society in the process of change."

#### \* Recent Events in Gazankulu Analyzed

90AF0502F Johannesburg **SOWETAN**  
in English 18 Jul 90 p 6

[Article by S. Y. Makaringe]

[Text] The picture that hanged conspicuously on the wall behind the reception desk of the Giyani Hotel, reminding everyone about the man who was calling the shots in Gazankulu, has been removed.

It was the picture of none other than Professor Hudson William Edison Ntsanwisi, the man who has been ruling the bantustan with an iron fist for more than two decades.

The picture has now been replaced by an oil painting which many residents of this capital town of Gazankulu find difficult to interpret.

The removal of Ntsanwisi's picture in many places, even at supermarkets, may be seen as insignificant but it may signal the beginning of the end of the Ntsanwisi rule.

This will be tested on July 20 when the Gazankulu legislative assembly convenes for the first time since the beginning of the year.

#### Opposition

The session was postponed several times earlier this year due to the six-week stayaway by thousands of civil servants who were demanding Ntsanwisi's resignation.

They also demanded the disbanding of Ximoko Xa Rixaka (The Whip of the Nation) cultural movement, the Gazankulu Women's Association and the Gazankulu Youth Movement.

As Ntsanwisi held firmly to his seat and refused to budge, several progressive structures, including youth movements, civic associations and teachers' unions were formed everywhere in opposition to his rule.

Ntsanwisi found himself completely isolated when even MP [Member of Parliament], who had been very loyal to his administration for a long time, turned their backs on him and pledged solidarity with the "people's struggle".

Even the chiefs, who formed his biggest support base in the legislative assembly, decided that enough was enough.

The MPs (members of parliament), 57 in all, wanted to use the legislative assembly as a platform to pass a vote of no confidence on him and his government.

This angered Ntsanwisi who refused to convene a special session of the assembly, citing intimidation of chiefs as the main reason for doing so.

The army was called in. Several people were detained. But the pressure on Ntsanwisi remained.

Indications that Ntsanwisi was on his way out came when Minister of Justice, Mr Lincoln Mahanci Shimati, once described as his "blue-eyed boy", decided to call it a day.

This was after Shimati, whose filling station suffered huge financial losses as a result of a consumer boycott on businesses owned by people closely connected with the Ntsanwisi family and the government, was moved from the Ministry of Education.

Unknown to most of Gazankulu people, Ntsanwisi was making secret trips to Johannesburg to meet leaders of both the ANC [African National Congress] and the UDF [United Democratic Front] to discuss the problems in the region.

He was also one of the homeland leaders who failed to turn up at a meeting with President F. W. de Klerk in Cape Town after they were persuaded not to go by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

He was, it seems, well received by the ANC and even posed for pictures with some of its high-ranking officials.

In the end, there was no doubt that Ntsanwisi had emerged a victor.

The civil servants had lost the first round of their battle. They all flocked back to work.

Peace and tranquility has returned to the region, but how long this will continue remains to be seen as everyone starts preparing for the second round showdown on July 20.

What can be said with a high degree of certainty, however, is that Ntsanwisi is firmly back in control of the situation.

#### Revolt

The democratic structures which were formed during the revolt are no longer as effective as they used to be.

The MPs, who formed a united front in a bid to oust Ntsanwisi, are no longer speaking with one voice.

Some have openly pledged solidarity with the man they once regarded as a foe.

Some of the structures have allegedly been infiltrated by agents of the system.

But some MPs spoken to have described the tranquility as "a lull before the storm".

Mr Mike Mushwana, the Speaker of parliament who led the MPs in their attempts to oust their Chief Minister, admits that many of his colleagues are no longer as committed as they used to be.

"Some of us can no longer tolerate Ntsanwisi's rule. We are prepared to fight him to the bitter end," he said.

In Nkowankowa, Ntsanwisi's hometown, opposition to his rule is clearly evident.

The Tzaneen Education Crisis Committee and the Nkowankowa Civic Association are still committed to achieve their main objectives - to see Ntsanwisi deposed.

Having established contacts within the ANC and the UDF, Ntsanwisi, however, is poised to remain in the hot seat, at least for a few years.

But rumors abound that Ntsanwisi may call it quits during the coming parliamentary session. The main reason given by sources is that he is under tremendous pressure from his family.

Besides, he would bow out in dignity if he were to announce his retirement himself.

#### In Control

But at the moment, there is no doubt who is in control. Ntsanwisi is not only the Chief Minister of the homeland, he is Minister of Police (and also controls the traffic department), Minister of Economic Affairs, president of both Ximoko Xa Rixaka and the Gazankulu Youth Movement.

The Gazankulu Legislative Assembly, which has been lying dormant since a six-week unrest in the homeland earlier this year, will finally be opened in Giyani on Friday.

A spokesman for the Gazankulu government said yesterday the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, would open the session.

Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of the homeland, was also expected to address members of parliament.

The opening, scheduled for March this year, was postponed at the height of the six-week stayaway by public servants after dissident MPs indicated they intended passing a vote of no confidence in their Chief Minister when the session resumed.

Ntsanwisi also refused to convene a special sitting where his future as the head of the homeland's government was to be discussed.

This was after newly-formed progressive structures called for his immediate resignation and the disbanding of government supported bodies such as Ximoko Xa Rixaka (Whip of the Nation), the Gazankulu Women's Association and the Gazankulu Youth Movement.

The long-awaited opening also comes in the wake of growing speculation that Ntsanwisi may announce his retirement after more than 20 years in public office.

#### \* FAWU's Views on Dissent, Unity Analyzed

90AF0502D Johannesburg *THE WEEKLY MAIL*  
in English 13-19 Jul 90 pp 1-2

[Article by Drew Forrest]

[Text] The bitter feud within the branch of the Food and Allied Workers Union [FAWU]—a key Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] affiliate with a history of internal conflict—has given rise to a 'campaign for democracy'.

"We have a problem of people who do not toe the line in FAWU. These people are opportunists and white intellectuals. They must be identified, isolated and dealt with."

For critics, this warning—allegedly issued by Food and Allied Workers president Chris Dlamini at union caucus before last year's Cosatu congress—epitomizes a "Stalinist" leadership style which has sparked repeated splits and conflict within FAWU ranks.

Purges of "unreliable" elements within the union have been alleged, as well as a high staff turnover at national and local level and the defection of factories to rival unions.

This year the Cape Town branch has been racked with dissension, and FAWU recently lost much of its Eastern Cape region to a splinter union formed by a dismissed regional secretary Elliot Nduzulwana. Conflict during the Spekenam strike of 1987/8 rapidly assumed a political character and threatened to split the union.

But in the labor field, one soon discovers, there is no absolute reality—only versions of it. Dlamini denies making the statement. And national organizer Alan Roberts believes the union is now stronger and more united than at any stage in its history.

Criticism of FAWU's political style—its allegedly gun-ho support for the ANC [African National Congress], its exiled labor arm Sactu [South African Congress of Trade Unions] and the South African Communist Party; alleged adherence to the "two-stage" theory of revolution and purported determination to force a centrally formulated line down the throats of its members—is quite widely voiced within the federation.

But public attacks are now emanating from sources closer to the union: sacked officials of its Cape Town

branch and worker supporters who have launched a "campaign for democracy" within FAWU.

The campaign, which seeks a code of conduct for worker democracy within FAWU, including "respect for all comrades", the right of minorities to hold and put forward political views, respect for the constitution and an end to "threats, violence and slanders", is rooted in a tangled skein of events beginning last year in Cape Town.

What is not in dispute is that the branch was suspended by the region, relaunched at an AGM [general meeting?] on February 4 this year which fired branch secretary Miles Hartford, and that officials sympathetic to Hartford were later suspended and then fired. But the significance of the upheavals is hotly contested.

For Hartford, who is widely seen as standing to the left of the official FAWU "line", the trigger was a statement by branch office bearers in which the workers in the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) were named as allies.

This, he says, sparked accusations of political parasitism" and deviation from union policy. "We were told that if we don't like the style of soccer in FAWU, we must joint another team".

What then followed, Hartford says, was a systematic campaign of sabotage of the branch, coupled with "slander, labelling, unsubstantiated allegations, smear campaigns, threats and intimidation of workers", culminating in an "unconstitutional" AGM where he was dismissed and new office-bearers elected.

Briefly, the claim is that insufficient notice was given of the meeting and that only 70 workers took part in the elections. After a lengthy quest for redress through union structures, Hartford says, Supreme Court action was launched aimed at overturning the dismissals.

Hartford is convinced events were orchestrated from the center. He stresses that the FAWU national executive committee upheld the controversial AGM and later dismissed the organizers who took court action.

"FAWU is marked by a crude style of vanguard unionism, in which the line formulated nationally—often in secret caucus—handed down to the structures for rubber-stamping and enforced through the politics of slander and witch-hunt," he said.

He also claims there are deliberate moves to strengthen "the national bureaucracy" at the expense of branch autonomy. He points to recent national conference decisions to stage conferences once every two years, to double subscriptions and to weaken the power of minorities to challenge the conduct of the national executive committee.

"We're saying that in the workers' movement we're all equals, and that there's no room for the idea of 'senior comrades'."

More than in other Cosatu affiliates, FAWU does appear to have an official line, often characterized as "populist". Delegates at last year's Cosatu conference allegedly sparked widespread dismay by suggesting that under an ANC government workers should not strike, as "we would be striking against our own people".

Eyebrows were also raised earlier this year when, after a Cosatu decision to call for Sactu to disband and merge with it, FAWU circulated a document urging wider consultation on the issue.

But FAWU leaders adamantly deny attempts to enforce ideological uniformity within the union, stressing that politics had no bearing on the Cape Town dismissals. "We have people with different views in our union," said Dlamini. "There is no way we could trim the organization to one line." Adds Roberts: "FAWU is open to all elements willing to submit to the union constitution and worker control."

For Roberts the Cape Town imbroglio boils down to a refusal to accept worker decisions following the virtual collapse of the branch. "At the AGM, Miles admitted to failings in the branch—the lack of routine executive committee meetings, inadequate servicing of members and failure to report to workers on finances. Fighting in the branch forced the region to step in."

**\* Consumer Boycotts Taking Toll Nationwide**  
90AF0502C Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English  
24 Jul 90 p 3

[Article by Helen Grange]

[Text] Consumer boycotts in centers throughout the country are costing traders millions of rands in lost business and sparking increased political tension.

The Vaal Triangle, worst hit by a Cosatu-inspired consumer boycott, has lost an estimated R7 million in trade since the action began last Monday, according to the president of the Vaal Chamber of Commerce and Industries, Myer Weitzmann.

In Vereeniging the boycott has been accompanied by reports of intimidation, aggravating relations between the town council and the township communities.

A further breakdown in relations is likely to occur should the town council carry out its threat of cutting off power to Sharpeville.

According to Dr Mario Melanie, chairman of the Vereeniging management committee, lights are "about to be switched off" because rents and service charges were two months in arrears.

Municipal workers in Vereeniging are also threatening to strike over salary demands, he said.

### Roadblocks

Other Vaal Triangle towns affected by consumer boycotts are Vanderbijlpark, Meyerton and Sasolburg.

Boycott action is also affecting the East Rand town of Alberton and Bronkhorstspruit in the eastern Transvaal.

Although the chairman of Alberton's management committee, Johan van der Merwe, has denied the boycott has had any "significant impact" on business, some businessmen in the area have complained that they may go out of business should the action by Tokoza residents continue.

In Bronkhorstspruit the consumer boycott has been accompanied by increased tension over roadblocks set up by security force members at the entrances of Zithobeni township.

In the Orange Free State consumer boycotts have ravaged business in Bothaville, Bultfontein and Viljoenskroon. Although a two-week old boycott is continuing in Bultfontein, boycotts in the other two towns were called off last week.

Bothaville Town clerk Johan Potgieter said black residents stayed away from shops for eight weeks, resulting in a loss of a "couple of million rands" in business.

"We also lost about 400 job opportunities," Mr Potgieter said.

### \* KwaNdebele, TPA To Form Joint Authority

90AF0502A Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English  
19 Jul 90 p 3

[Article by Mckeek Kotlolo]

[Text] The KwaNdebele government the Transvaal Provincial Administration [TPA] have agreed in principle to the formation of a joint executive authority (JEA).

The Chief Minister of KwaNdebele, Prince James Mahlangu, told a press conference at the homeland's Guest House near KwaMhlanga yesterday that his government and the TPA had agreed in principle to form functional and political committees to look into the needs and common interests of KwaNdebele and the TPA.

The meeting also discussed health services in the homeland, unemployment and public transport.

Chief Mahlangu said the idea of having a JEA had been suggested in the past, but nothing had come out of it.

The committees would meet regularly to investigate the formation of the JEA.

The Administrator of the Transvaal, Danie Hough, said the two parties were at present conducting bilateral, informal discussions which could pave the way for a multilateral structure, since the Transvaal consisted of four homelands and the province.

Each party would represent the genuine aspirations of its people, Mr Hough added.

The issue of the control of the Philadelphia Hospital in Denilton, which was recently described as a death trap, was discussed but no final decision had been reached.

The chief minister said that because of the need for another hospital to cater for local residents as well as people from neighboring areas, a hospital would be erected at KwaMhlanga.

There would also be polyclinics in various villages to relieve the planned hospital.

### \* Urban Foundation Presents Urbanization Plan

90AF0518D Cape Town *THE ARGUS*  
in English 24 Jul 90 p 16

[Report by Tos Wentzel: "New Urbanization Plan"; first paragraph *THE ARGUS* comment]

[Text] A major new urbanisation plan has been suggested in a report sponsored by the Urban Foundation. Among the findings by the coalition of business and community leaders which did the investigation are that South Africa should change from planning against expanded urban growth to planning for it and that urbanisation should be turned into an instrument for economic growth.

A bold urban development planning approach to save South Africa from the "nightmares" of violence and administrative breakdown is set out in a new report sponsored by the Urban Foundation.

It says urbanisation must be well-managed in order to be an instrument for accelerated economic growth, national development and individual betterment.

It was drawn up by the Private Sector Council on Urbanisation, a coalition of leaders of commerce, industry and communities which has for the past five years researched and debated policies that could be the foundation for a new South Africa.

The report says it is essential that South Africa makes the transition from its tradition of planning against expanded urban growth to planning for it. The predominance of the black population in the urban areas must be recognised.

It means a new urban policy must focus attention on the needs of the majority of people who are disproportionately young, unskilled and lacking resources.

But the emphasis on the cities must not hide the connection between rural and urban development. A new urbanisation policy must be based on sound demographic research, accurate analysis of international and local successes and failures and a vision of a new economically thriving and democratic South Africa.

Existing cities must spearhead future growth and economic development. With sound policy and good management they could play their historic role as "vehicles of modernity" creating better life styles, growth and employment.

The policy must use public expenditure in the most effective way but must also attract resources of the private sector and financial institutions. It must also cultivate a new supportive attitude to informal spontaneous initiative and development in every sphere of city life.

Experience around the world shows that urban people and communities can and do help themselves if allowed to do so. Vibrant informal business already exists and can be expanded.

South Africa faces a stark choice. "Either we will continue with a reactive crisis-oriented, inevitably inadequate response to the phenomenon of rapid urbanisation or we can choose to direct this irreversible process and turn it into an economic, political and development opportunity for all South Africans."

In countries where urbanisation was successfully used to ensure development, the goals include eradicating absolute poverty, the creation of jobs, reducing population growth, restructuring access to economic opportunities and incorporating excluded sections in political and economic development.

The ascendant role of the cities in the life of the country demands that they play a leading role.

The nightmare of violence has already become a recurrent reality of communities in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. "The dense, unplanned informal settlements and overcrowded townships of urban South Africa, both of which lack adequate facilities and amenities, make this a potential outcome throughout the country."

The second potential nightmare, of administrative breakdown, would include the land ownership system.

This is increasingly under threat from the large numbers of homeless people who see no other reasonable option but to occupy land not intended for low-income residential settlement.

The conflict potential in this competition for resources will grow in scale and intensity so that it becomes harder to proceed according to ordinary rules of ownership and payment for services.

But these prices do not have to be paid. Sound policy, good management and decisive leadership are needed to end the present insecurities and avoid new ones.

The present policy initiatives fail to provide city dwellers with confidence in the management of a difficult transition period. The challenges that face the cities are essentially political in origin.

### Shared Vision

The report recommends a "shared vision of the future" which must:

- Be inclusive of all citizens;
- Be built on democratic decision-making and participatory processes;
- Be realistic about the scale of the challenge to be faced;
- Focus on economic growth and on opening opportunities for the poor;
- Provide permanence and security for all.

There is a broad spectrum of South Africans potentially ready to mobilise around a strategy that focusses on the cities and their future. Black and white have converging common interests in the urbanisation processes and the economic future of the city.

The removal of racially-based legislation and policies is a prerequisite for a new urbanisation policy. In the 1990's urbanisation will be progressively dominated by the interests, needs and numbers of black South Africans.

"As the central participants in the process their views will be paramount in the acceptance of new policy directions and their implementation.

"The cities themselves will become an important arena for success for black interests—taxi owners, trade unionists, business people, sports administrators, health workers."

There is not a single black leader who does not advocate the removal of all racially-based legislation. But this alone will not provide a way of managing urbanisation. That task will require proactive policies.

South Africa faces the economic challenge to increase the growth and development rate in order to provide millions of new jobs for a large and growing population.

It must maximise the dynamics of the (mainly black) urbanisation process as an instrument of national development and personal betterment and an all-encompassing political culture must be developed.

The achievement of successful urban and rural development requires, and will contribute to, a national political settlement.

The urban areas being the country's political flashpoints, the report sets out a new urban policy based on five goals:

- Permanency, security of tenure and opportunity to upgrade their conditions for millions of inhabitants of informal housing;
- Security against crime for all urban dwellers;
- Environmental protection and neighbourhood upgrading in the cities and towns;
- Sufficient trained management resources, including town clerks, engineers and community organisers for the cities and towns;

- Sufficient finance and appropriate new vehicles for urban development.

A new urban policy must therefore aim to reconstruct the South African city in many respects to get away from past policies of racial segregation which led to black dormitory townships separate from the core urban economy and the notion that blacks were temporary urban dwellers.

#### Policy Shift

There has been a major shift in policy, but what is now required is a deliberate policy to create fundamentally different, growth-orientated, inclusive cities.

"A deliberate programme is required to channel new development in every city and town away from a dispersed and racially divided urban growth pattern towards more compact, integrated, accessible, economically prudent and productive urban systems."

This programme should include inter-city development on a non-racial basis, high-density infill development, and multi-purpose development corridors connecting previously segregated parts of the city.

Developmental relationships between the informal sector, smaller businesses and larger firms must be encouraged.

Practical consolidation and appropriate servicing support for the informally housed populations of the cities should also become a major priority. Such a new urban policy will require new roles for central and urban governments.

Central government must provide the new policy framework that will facilitate local bodies to contribute to a vibrant new form of urban development.

Urban government must in turn enable local trade unions, corporations, community organisations, entrepreneurs and others to contribute to the development of the city.

Some urban municipalities must expand their role and metropolitan responsibilities.

There should be special incentives for local authorities to design proactive programmes for the encouragement of small business and informal sector economic activity and to stimulate maximum job creation in all urban government functions and sections.

#### Economic Power-houses

All policies must be designed to ensure that maximum use is made of all existing urban investment.

The cities will be the economic powerhouses of the next century and the private sector has an opportunity to make major investments in the economic activity of the cities, thereby creating jobs and wealth.

At the same time, central government should allocate greater financial resources to urban development.

In the field of housing, government need to create the conditions for significant involvement and resources from the private sector.

There will also have to be recognition of informal housing settlements, as the majority of the urban poor cannot afford the most modest formal structures.

#### \* ANC, CP Emerging as Two Main Forces

90AF0445D Pretoria *DIE PATRIOT*  
in Afrikaans 29 Jun 90 p 11

[Commentary: "En Route to a New Political Configuration"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] South African politics are in a particularly fluid transitional phase. A realignment is clearly under way with the leftist-liberal parties, which are dramatically losing support to the Right. The stimulating article that follows shows that the two ultimate poles in politics will be the CP [Conservative Party] and the ANC [African National Congress].

A recent announcement by the DP [Democratic Party] that in future elections it will work together with the NP [National Party] against the CP represents a significant turnaround in the alignment of South African party politics.

This apparent move towards the NP was a significant step in the direction of effecting a situation where there are ultimately only two major parties among whites.

In this way, we are moving towards a repeat of the traditional structure in South African party politics, the classic Nat/Sap [National Party/South African Party] division.

Since the end of the 1960s, the traditional two-party system has fallen out of balance with splitoffs to the Right: First the HNP [Reconstituted National Party] in 1969 and then the NKP [expansion unknown] at the end of the 1970s. Both splitoffs were caused by a move by the NP, in its day a rightist, nationalist party, towards the center of the political spectrum.

This fragmentation of party politics was greatly intensified by the dissolution of the UP [United Party] in 1977. The leftist pole (actually, moderate-liberal) of white politics was thus cleared out in one fell swoop, giving the NP unobstructed room to recruit liberal support. The PFP [Progressive Federal Party] was too leftist and the NRP [New Republic Party] too impotent to serve as the political home for thousands of ex-UP supporters. Large numbers of them turned to the NP, and from within the party they exerted pressure in order to move more quickly towards the center of the political spectrum.

Today, of course, it is a matter of history that the NP will pay dearly for this movement to the left. A major step

towards the restoration of the bipolar system was provided in 1982 with a third rightist splitoff from the NP. This time, however, the split was much greater than on the two previous occasions, and a significant number of Afrikaners joined the new party, the CP.

The NP's strategy, nonetheless, of not only continuing with this trend, but even accelerating the pace, makes a rapid realignment a necessity.

This was helped along by a consolidation of the leftist parties, the factions under the leadership of Mr. Wynand Malan and Doctor Denis Worrall with the old PFP, to form a new Democratic Party.

The advances that the DP make in last year's general elections led many observers to believe wrongly that that party has a future. The gains achieved by the DP were simply the result of the NP's water-treading act under Mr. P.W. Botha, as well as the novelty surrounding the newly-founded DP.

The artificial and fleeting nature of the DP's advances came to light when the NP, under a new leader, began to move more quickly to the left. After large numbers of conservative Afrikaners and English-speakers left the NP, leftist voters rushed to the aid of the NP without any pangs of conscience, as the by-elections in Umlazi showed.

As the realignment takes place, the NP and DP will be increasingly thrown into one another's arms. Even if official and formal alliances have not been concluded from the very outset, all signs point to inexorable movement in that direction, where a merger ultimately is a strong probability.

However, political observers do not expect the political realignment to end there. As both the NP and the DP lose their base of power, they will have no other choice than to attempt to conclude alliances with black political groups.

Some observers expect that the NP/DP could genuinely attempt to effect cooperation with the ANC. It is currently impossible to say whether this will succeed, but experts are already pointing to the de facto cooperation that is under way between the government and the ANC.

Giving any type of concrete form to this arrangement could result in further large-scale losses by the NP in favor of the CP.

Politics are often extremely difficult to predict. Still, a future scenario with the CP as one political pole and the

ANC and its satellites, the NP and DP, as the other clearly does not seem farfetched.

#### \* Nonracial Bus Service To Start in Pretoria

90AF0445C Johannesburg *BEELD* in Afrikaans  
4 Jul 90 p 9

[Unattributed article: "Full Opening Up of Bus Service Imminent"]

[Text] Pretoria's city council took one step closer to the full opening up of its bus service to all races at its monthly meeting, by changing certain ordinances affecting that service by a vote of 22 to 19.

The council, which is controlled by the National Party [NP], decided back in January of this year to open up its bus service to all races. The service will probably be open for use by all commuters on 1 September.

In the meantime, preparations are being made for the change. In March, the council resolved to remove the "Whites Only" signs on benches at and in bus stops. They were replaced by signs saying "Municipal Bus Passengers Only."

At the latest monthly meeting, it was decided to replace the word "whites" and "people who reside within Pretoria's city limits" in ordinances concerning concession charges with the word "residents."

Members of the CP [Conservative Party]—the official opposition on the council—objected to the word "resident," and proposed that it be replaced with "taxpayer."

According to those council members, the CP is opposed to opening up the bus service, and the service is currently heavily subsidized by white taxpayers.

Attorney James Leach, chairman of the executive committee and leader of the NP on the council, said that if the CP's request is granted, it will place an extremely heavy burden on residents and be a slap in the face to them.

If the word "taxpayer" is used, many people who are now entitled to concessions, such as students and the elderly, will no longer be able to take advantage of them.

Although it is known that Pretoria's municipal bus service is operated at a loss of around 17 million rands a year, it is necessary that the service be maintained, said Brigadier Jan Henning, NP city council member.

According to Brig. Henning, there would be between 12,000 and 15,000 more cars on Pretoria's streets if there were no municipal bus service. Naturally, this would mean that more roads would have to be built, at great expense.

## Mozambique

### Central Committee Resolution on 'Important Issues'

MB1808121090 Maputo Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1850 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Resolution on Important Issues of the Popular Debate of the Proposed Draft Constitution Approved by the Frelimo Party Central Committee's Third Session in Maputo on 15 August—read by unidentified official]

[Text] The Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party Central Committee's Third Session examined the report from the Central Office for Organizing the Popular Debate of the Proposed Draft Constitution and noted that the Office had fulfilled the objectives of promoting a maximum participation of citizens in the debate and ensuring the collection and examination of proposals and contributions for the new constitution.

A total of 3.25 million citizens living in the country and 80,000 citizens living abroad participated actively in the debate. A total of 325,000 people aired their views in 5,500 centers established for the debates.

The Central Committee salutes militants, cadres, and other citizens who took part in the tasks of mobilizing and organizing the people for the popular debate of the proposed Draft Constitution for their selflessness, dedication, and full commitment to the fulfillment of this work.

The Central Committee would particularly like to salute members of the Central Office, local offices, and members of teams established at various levels for the good work.

The Central Committee examined important issues of the proposed Draft Constitution in the light of the popular debates, the country's reality, and ongoing changes in our region and worldwide.

The Central Committee decided that it was necessary to adjust mechanisms for the exercise of democracy by the people to new demands brought about by changes observed in each phase of our country's political, economic, social, and cultural development.

Our country's recent history is indissolubly linked to Frelimo. By uniting and organizing our people in the struggle against colonialism, Frelimo proclaimed independence and laid down foundations for the birth of our state.

The new conditions created by national independence, such as the establishment of the state and the government, the exercise of democracy by our citizens, the development of national unity, the operation of the economy, and the establishment of international cooperation, are gains and factors of the Mozambican people's progress.

The democracy implanted in the country in a political process led by Frelimo gave a new shape to the nation. It created the state and Mozambican citizenship.

With Frelimo, the Mozambican people began to practise democracy which is today being consolidated throughout the country.

The establishment of national consensus to normalize life in the country, the present phase of consolidating democracy, the views expressed during the debate of the proposed Draft Constitution, and the serious debate of the Central Committee Third Session, have all contributed to the approval of a multiparty system in the country.

This conscious choice for the establishment of a multiparty system in our country broadens the political field for different classes and social forces and realizes the right to association by Mozambican citizens which has always been valued by the Frelimo Party.

The establishment of a multiparty system is a sign of the Frelimo Party's strength and vitality and places the Mozambican society in the new situation of changes at the African and international levels.

By approving the establishment of a multiparty system in the country, the Central Committee has taken the initiative to develop the ongoing political process in the country, coordinating different forces and political tendencies for a broader participatory democracy.

The establishment of a multiparty system in our country translates the aspirations of a significant number of citizens who took part in the popular debate of the proposed Draft Constitution.

Our people, most of whom, favored a one-party system accept and understand that all citizens should be allowed to organize themselves into political parties.

The Central Committee feels that this decision which is of major importance also brings about new responsibilities for the Frelimo Party and its members in that a spirit of renovation must prevail in the reorganization of methods and working programs to mobilize the people.

On examining the organization of political power, the Central Committee decided to adopt a presidential system where the head of state is also the head of the government in that this is more in conformity with the demands of consolidating national unity and building the nation.

On economic organization, the Central Committee reaffirmed its choice for a market economy where various forms of property ownership, notably state, cooperative, mixed, family, and private, coexist and complement each other for the country's development, taking into account the situation of our economy, the need for its speedy growth, and the introduction of the Economic Rehabilitation Program and the results already achieved.

**On the Proposed Draft Constitution.**

**Article 1:** On the nature of the state stipulated in the proposed Draft Constitution, the Central Committee underlined the need to have a unitary state, taking into account the present phase of consolidating national unity, the existing ethnical and language diversity, and the shortage of human and material resources.

**Articles 1, 91, 118:** On the official designations of the People's Republic of Mozambique, the People's Assembly, and the Supreme People's Court, the Central Committee decided to remove the word People from these three so that they will now be called: the Republic of Mozambique, the Assembly of the Republic, and the Supreme Court.

**Article 5:** On nationality, the Central Committee decided that existing restrictions in the Nationality Law must be maintained. It also decided that principles connected with original nationality must be included in the proposed Draft Constitution, notably as relates to Mozambican women married to foreigners.

At the same time, it decided that the proposed Draft Constitution must define the regulation of these principles and others, including naturalization, the fact that naturalized people are only [words indistinct] the rank of captain in the Mozambique Armed Forces and its equivalence in other defense and security forces.

**Article 8:** On territorial division, the Central Committee decided that this issue must be closely examined by the relevant state organs and stipulated in the ordinary law.

**Article 11:** On the issue of land, the Central Committee decided to maintain existing land laws, taking into account restrictions contained in Article 2.

**Articles 23 and 24:** With regard to traditional medicine, the Central Committee decided that this should come stipulated in the ordinary law.

**Articles 22 and 24:** On private initiative in education and health, the Central Committee decided to maintain what is provided in the proposed Draft Constitution.

**Article 26:** On special treatment, the Central Committee has decided to remove from the first and second paragraphs of this article the following words: and of the revolution and in fulfillment of missions.

**Article 38:** On death sentence and abortion, the Central Committee decided that it should be stipulated in the proposed Draft Constitution that there is no death sentence in Mozambique. The question of abortion should be contained in the ordinary law.

**Article 42:** On individual freedom, the Central Committee decided that the following words be added to the Article: freedom of expression, freedom of the press, and the right to information.

**Article 55:** With regard to trade unions, the Central Committee decided that in the new situation of a multiparty system, the existence of trade unions to be governed by ordinary law must be stipulated in the Constitution.

**Article 77:** On the requirements of the post of the president of the republic, the Central Committee decided that the minimum age for candidates is 35. The candidates must be Mozambican citizens with original nationality and children of Mozambican parents also with original nationality. Accordingly, the article must be redrafted so as to include these requirements.

**Article 79:** On the powers of the head of state, the Central Committee decided to maintain what is contained in the proposed Draft Constitution, having also proposed the inclusion of the following: Paragraph A: to dissolve the Assembly of the Republic if the government's program is not approved for the first time. Paragraph B: to dismiss the government if its program is rejected in the Assembly of the Republic for the second time.

**Article 84:** On the swearing-in of the president of the Republic, the Central Committee decided that the president of the Republic will be sworn in by the president of the Supreme Court.

**Article 85:** On the replacement of the president of the Republic, the Central Committee decided to maintain what is contained in the proposed Draft Constitution.

**Article 90:** With regard to the immunity of the head of state: the Central Committee decided to maintain what is contained in the proposed Draft Constitution.

**Article 92:** On Constitutional guarantees, the Central Committee decided that the Supreme Court must be charged with the task of protecting our laws. It also decided to establish a Constitutional Court within a 10-year period and this should right away be stipulated in the Constitution.

**Article 94:** On the bills introduced in the Assembly of the Republic, the Central Committee decided to maintain what is contained in the proposed Draft Constitution.

**Articles 105 and 106:** With regard to the legislative power of the People's Assembly Standing Commission, the Central Committee decided:

Paragraph A: to transform the People's Assembly Standing Commission into the Board of Assembly with its tasks limited to paragraphs A, F, and G of Article 105 of the proposed Draft Constitution.

Paragraph B: to redraft paragraphs preceding this article so as to conform with changes to be carried out in Article 92 of the proposed Draft Constitution.

**Articles 51, 111, and 126:** On the creation of organs, the Central Committee decided that the National Defense and Security Council should be a consultative organ for

the head of state in his post as the commander in chief of the Defense and Security Forces.

Article 136: On incompatibilities, the Central Committee decided:

Paragraph A: The post of deputy is compatible with that of the member of the government.

Paragraph B: For the acting president to stand for the post of the president of the republic, he must resign as chairman of the Assembly.

Article 137 and 138: On national symbols, the Central Committee decided:

Paragraph A: to maintain the national flag taking into account that it was the flag of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] which led the people in the struggle for the country's liberation.

Paragraph B: to promote a competition for the drafting of a new national anthem with the possibility of maintaining the present tune but replacing the wordage because it does not conform with the present moment.

As for the national currency, the Central Committee decided that it should be stipulated in the Constitution that the metical is the national currency.

Article 140: On the country's capital, the Central Committee decided to maintain what was proposed in the proposed Draft Constitution.

Article 144: With regard to proposed Draft Constitution, the Central Committee decided to remove this article from the Draft Constitution so as to make its revision flexible.

The Central Committee Third Session decided to establish a commission to draft the final text of the Draft Constitution to be submitted to the forthcoming extraordinary session of the Central Committee and to draft the final version of the revision of the Constitution to be submitted to the 11th session of the People's Assembly.

Having examined important issues and other articles of the proposed Draft Constitution, the Frelimo Party Central Committee Third Session feels that conditions have been created for the implementation of other tasks contained in the proposed Draft Constitution.

The struggle continues!

[Issued] Maputo, 15 August 1990.

#### War-Related Activities Monitored 13-19 August MB1908193890

[Editorial Report] Following is a compilation of reports monitored 13-19 August on activities relating to the internal conflict. Items are listed by province.

CABO DELGADO

Over the past six years, "armed bandits" have destroyed 42 shops in the province and attacks have "resulted in the closure" of 23 others. During the last six months, 500 people who had fled the Pemba area have surrendered to authorities and have returned to their former places of residence. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 15 Aug 90)

#### GAZA

The "armed bandits" murdered six people when they attacked Cuanhane hamlet, in Gaza Province's Chokwe District, on 11 August. The "criminals" also looted three shops and abducted an unknown number of citizens. The FPLM (Popular Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique) forces stationed in Chokwe killed three "armed bandits" and captured one along with his weapon. The "armed bandits" also abducted "more than 30 people" in attacks against the Massavasse and Bomboco hamlets in Chokwe District last month. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 14 Aug 90)

#### INHAMBANE

Inhambane Province has had three health units reopened over the last two months. These health units are in Inharrime, Panda, and Guvuru Districts. Forty-eight health units in Inhambane Province remain closed due to the "armed bandits' criminal operations." (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 15 Aug 90)

#### MANICA

Government forces have freed 11 people who had been held by the Ranamo—Mozambique National Resistance—in Sussundenga District. Three other people who had been "kidnapped" by the "bandits" have presented themselves to Sussundenga District authorities. (Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 19 Aug 90)

#### NIASSA

"Hundreds" of people displaced from their homes by the war are facing severe hunger in Cuamba District because of lack of transportation for distributing donated food. In addition, 280 peasants who had been "kidnapped by the armed bandits" surrendered to authorities in Matarica District. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 17 Aug 90)

#### SOFALA

A total of 1,800 people were released from "armed bandit captivity" in Sofala Province's Gorongosa District during the first half of this year. These people had been "abducted by the criminals several years ago." They had been sleeping in the open without basic food or accommodations. They appeared in Gorongosa town, some wearing tree bark in lieu of clothes and others looking like live skeletons. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 14 Aug 90)

#### ZAMBEZIA

"Over 15,000 war-affected people" have received assistance from the Mozambique Red Cross in different corners of the country between May and June this year. The Mozambique Red Cross Information Bulletin

points out that the "assistance comprised the supply of food and clothing" to the needy. A total of "12,000 people" who benefited from the assistance "come from Zambezia Province where the military situation has been registering considerable improvement". (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 13 Aug 90)

One former tribal chief—(Muhelio)—18 "armed bandit collaborators," and more than 100 civilians recently turned themselves in to authorities in Namarroi District. The former chief had "played an important role among the armed bandits" for several years. Four "armed bandits" also surrendered in Gile and Mocuba Districts. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 16 Aug 90)

#### Foreign Aid Reports Monitored 13-19 August

MB1908194590

[Editorial Report] Following is a compilation of reports monitored 13-19 August on foreign aid. Items are listed by donor.

#### UK

Oxfam, a British nongovernmental organization, will finance an airlift valued at over \$400,000 for the Districts of Maua and Nipepe in Niassa Province. An agreement in this direction was signed in Maputo today by Salomao Mambo, national director of the department for the prevention of and fight against natural disasters, and (Kadikile Ngali), Oxfam representative in Mozambique. A total of 350 tonnes of products will be airlifted to the districts during a period of three months. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 14 Aug 90)

#### FRG

Talks between Mozambique and the Federal Republic of Germany began in Maputo last Monday [13 Aug]. The talks center on ongoing activities in the fields of energy, railroads, Anfrena [National Freight and Navigation Company], universities, road transport and food security. The delegations were led by Mozambican Deputy Cooperation Minister Oldemiro Baloi and (Humbert Linger), FRG director for development cooperation in southern Africa. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 15 Aug 90) An agreement worth 38 million Deutsch Marks was signed on 16 August. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 16 Aug 90)

#### EEC

The European Commission has approved assistance worth nearly \$2 million for Mozambique this year. The Commission is to give \$1.8 million through UNICEF for the purchase and distribution of medical equipment. Part of the money will also be used to purchase cereals to be distributed to those affected by the war. (Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1100 GMT 18 Aug 90)

#### Namibia

##### Editorial Views Coup 'Rumors', ANC Role

MB1808070690 Windhoek *TIMES OF NAMIBIA*  
in English 15 Aug 90 p 2

[Editorial: "Haunted by phantoms, again and again"]

[Text] The rumours of coups have not subsided, although the prime minister denied it, the president denied it, and the permanent secretary of information reluctantly denied it.

It does not appear to have dawned on those spreading unsubstantiated rumours about coups and insurgency that such rumours about internal or external threats to security would lessen Namibia's chances to get significant foreign investment.

The rumours simply continue, although *THE TIMES* fails to see what obscure and confused political points the rumours-mongers want to score.

The only conceivable motive we can ascribe to such rumours is that it could serve as an insurance policy: Should the government fail in its policies, presumed destabilisation methods could come in handy as excuses. In these contexts, the demand for evidence lapses; mention of "neo-colonialists" suffices.

The whole exercise of these self-destructive rumours speak of no confidence in the government's handling of economic and security affairs. Although *THE TIMES* is *open* in its criticism, it regards these clumsy *cover* precautions safe-guarding against total collapse as premature.

If there are identifiable threats to the security, let it be disclosed by any means. Indeed, if such information became available to the press, it would be the responsibility of the press to disclose such information. But by "identifiable" we understand information which would allow the police and the army to act.

There is no doubt that the countries of the sub-region had been plagued by genuine destabilisation. When professed information fails this test of action by Namibian security forces and subsequent court action it is rumours creating a siege mentality keeping foreigners with their money and know-how out of a country.

This time we read that the ANC's [African National Congress] representative, Abbey Chikane, "condemned attempts by extremists to destabilise Namibia."

The song differs slightly, but the tune remained the same.

To what attempts are Mr. Chikane referring? That the ANC "was aware that extremists were recruiting their members from ex-Koevoet [Namibian police counter-insurgency unit] and Battalion 101 and 202 members." But more than that: Namibia now becomes a part in the subregional destabilisation conspiracy, "The strategy of

these extremists was to destabilise the young republic and to use the country as springboard to crush all attempts to bring about peace in southern Africa."

As evidence the ANC man offers "the fact" that Koevoet's Hans Dreyer regularly flies to northern Namibia, with the aim "to recruit ex-Koevoet forces for activities against the liberation movement (with some of them based in the Natal province [South Africa])."

So there is now a link established between the Inkatha and ANC clashes in Natal, and the "strategy of destabilisation." Furthermore, Chikane alleged that two or three weeks before the SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] daily "disclosed" an alleged coup attempt, a General Van Tonder "who was supervising destabilisation activities against the Frontline States in general" linked up with Dreyer and a senior Namibian police officer.

It is not said where they met, or who the senior Namibian police officer might be. So we are back with an *alleged* meeting with an *unnamed* senior Namibian police officer.

Obviously, there are the shortsighted who do not support the moves to peace between the ANC and SA government. There are also more than mere suspicions that the SA security forces are actively involved in the destabilisation of the Frontline States.

But it is far-fetched to find a "Namibian connection," on the supposed evidence presented by Chikane.

But the sweet and the short of it is that we don't need the ANC in order to tell us about alleged attempts to destabilise Namibia. That is presumptuous in the extreme, with Mr. Chikane assuming the position of security advisor. We have our problems, but up to now we learned to live with each other without bloody faction fights. We can manage without Mr. Chikane, thank you.

What is next? Finding a "Namibian connection" in the destabilisation of the Persian Gulf by known U.S. extremists? Watch out!

### Zambia

**Kabwe Opposition Rally Greeted With 'Euphoria'**  
MB2008080390 London BBC World Service in English  
0635 GMT 20 Aug 90

[From the "Network Africa" program]

[Text] This is the noise of tens of thousands of people in Kabwe, a mining town north of the capital, Lusaka. The people turned out on Saturday [18 Aug] to greet their

leaders at the first legal opposition rally in Zambia since multiparty democracy was abolished 17 years ago.

The rally was organized by the Movement for Multiparty Democracy, and it is all part of a campaign gearing up for the referendum scheduled by President Kenneth Kaunda for next August, August 1991.

John Lukhele traveled to Kabwe for "Network Africa," and he sent us this report:

[Begin Lukhele recording] The mood in Kabwe on Saturday afternoon was one of euphoria, as leaders of Zambia's National Interim Committee for Multiparty Democracy were lifted shoulder-high by supporters shortly before the start of the first ever antigovernment political rally in almost two decades [words indistinct] to the referendum scheduled for next August to decide whether or not Zambia should become a multiparty state. The rally, held in the Central Province town of Kabwe, was designed to test the political mood of what promises to be a long, drawn-out campaign.

Kabwe was a symbolic venue for the (?multiparty) rally. It was there that the ruling United National Independence Party, UNIP, was formed 31 years ago. President Kaunda's government has made no secret of its opposition to the whole multiparty idea.

The government feels that the violence which characterized preindependence rivalry between political parties will again resurface should the country opt to go along the road to political pluralism. (?Part of) the idea of holding the rally in Kabwe centered on the need for the multiparty proponents to gauge the country's political mood. As it turned out, despite the unit of riot police who had ringed the venue of the rally, no stone was thrown and the meeting went unhindered, a positive sign [words indistinct] many (?multiparty supporters) that the hour has come for a new political dispensation.

Included on the lineup of speakers at the rally was Mr. Joshua Lumina, a former finance minister and presently a UNIP member of Parliament. He described the present political position as irreversible and that only more pressure would force the government to change its current opposition to (?opt for) a multiparty system. He said the multiparty system could not be reformed and urged that it should be destroyed. [sentence as heard]

There is mounting concern that Mr. Lumina is representative of the large body of UNIP members waiting in the wings to jump when the time is ripe on the multiparty bandwagon.

Today top ruling party leaders are due to commence their nationwide tours of Zambia's nine provinces. They will counter what they have dubbed the campaign of hate and division of the multiparty proponents. [end recording]

**Ivory Coast**

**Reporter on Expulsion, NPFL-Ivory Coast Ties**  
**AB1908224089 London BBC World Service in English**  
**1709 GMT 17 Aug 90**

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Ivory Coast has expelled a French journalist, Robert Minangoy of the radio station RFI [Radio France International]. It is the first time a French journalist has been kicked out of Ivory Coast. He has been expelled indefinitely and apparently over something he wrote about the Ivory Coast Government's relationship with Charles Taylor's NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] rebels that upset the Ivoirians. On the line, Mark Doyle asked Robert Minangoy exactly what he said:

[Begin recording] [Minangoy] The Ivoirian authorities reproached me only that I said or I wrote that the Ivory Coast is involved in the Liberian conflict. In fact, I just wrote that it was passive involvement from Ivory Coast in the Liberian conflict.

[Doyle] In the sense of allowing arms and equipment to go to Charles Taylor's people, or did you give details, or what?

[Minangoy] No, I did not give details, because details come on every news agency, on REUTER, and it was written in all papers, French, American, or English; and everybody knows that the weapons came from Burkina Faso and transit in Ivory Coast to go to the NPFL.

[Doyle] If everybody knows and if, as you say, it was fairly common knowledge, why do you think the Ivoirian authorities have chosen this time, and you, to get angry about?

[Minangoy] First, the problem is, RFI is very well known and popular in Ivory Coast and in every Francophone country, and the BBC is [word indistinct] for Anglophone countries; and the second thing is, in this country, the national press is not as free, and I do my job right and I became popular for that thing, because I am doing my job and say what I say.

[Doyle] Now, do you think that the Ivoirian authorities have, in any direct way, been helping the Liberian rebels, or is just, as we say in English, turning a blind eye?

[Minangoy] Yes, it is just turning a blind eye. [end recording]

**Liberia**

**800 Foreigners Evacuated From U.S. Embassy**  
**AB1908113990 Paris AFP in English 1131 GMT**  
**19 Aug 90**

[Text] Freetown, Aug 19 (AFP)—Eight hundred people of various nationalities were evacuated by U.S. Navy

helicopters on Sunday [19 Aug] from the U.S. carrier anchored off the coast of Liberia to Freetown. They were airlifted from the U.S. Embassy compound in Monrovia on Saturday to the American carrier.

The evacuees included 650 Lebanese, two Sierra Leoneans, 10 Chinese, one Malaysian, one Colombian, five Zairians, one Ghanaian, four Liberians and the body of an American citizen which was dumped at the doorstep of the U.S. Embassy in Monrovia. His name was not disclosed.

An official at the Lebanese Embassy here said two special flights of the Middle East Airlines (MEA) would fly out the Lebanese nationals. The first flight was due later Sunday and the second flight will take off on Monday. He added that the Lebanese Government was "concerned over the developments in Liberia and is appreciative of U.S. efforts in airlifting its nationals to safety."

Foreign Ministry sources here said on Sunday that 1,300 Sierra Leoneans were still trapped in Liberia but the Americans have given indication that they will help evacuate them to Freetown if they can reach any of the pickup points of the helicopter operation. The airlift which took close to four hours to complete was conducted at intervals of seven minutes from the American carrier.

One of the evacuees, Lebanese businessman Adel Aid, said he owned a supermarket in Monrovia but had now lost everything. "I am shattered but I am not bitter. My experience will be a nightmare for as long as I live."

Another evacuee, Catholic priest Francis Johnson of St. Mary's church in Bushrod island in Monrovia, said "This is a senseless war with innocent lives being lost. It will take some time before Liberia comes back to the glory of the past." Father Johnson, who is from Ghana, said his church was a sanctuary for hundreds of refugees but he decided to move out as the church was situated in an area controlled by Prince Johnson's forces. Meanwhile, the Chinese Red Cross has donated 10,000 dollars to the Sierra Leone Red Cross to assist the Liberian refugees now in Sierra Leone.

**Nigerians Reportedly Detained for 'Spying'**  
**AB1908135190 Paris AFP in French 1316 GMT**  
**18 Aug 90**

[Text] Lagos, 19 Aug (AFP)—Rebels of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) arrested two Nigerian journalists on 5 August in Monrovia accusing them of spying, the independent Nigerian newspaper, GUARDIAN, reported in its Sunday [19 Aug] edition. Krees Imodie, THE GUARDIAN political correspondent, and Tayo Awotusin, a reporter of the Lagos-based newspaper CHAMPION, are being detained at Tieni, a locality controlled by the rebels near Monrovia, THE GUARDIAN specifies.

Efforts are being made to convince the rebels that the two journalists are employees of independent media and that they were objective in their reporting, an executive of THE GUARDIAN states. Furthermore, 10 Nigerians are said to have been forcibly conscripted into the NPFL forces, Nigerian newspapers state quoting three Nigerian refugees who have reached Sierra Leone.

About 5,000 Nigerians are still in Liberia, government sources state.

### Ghanaian Nationals Reportedly 'Taken Hostage'

AB1908082690 Accra Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] [Word indistinct] from Monrovia say Ghanaian male adults, trapped by the civil war, have been taken hostage and only Ghanaian women and children are being allowed to leave the war-torn country, even at the peril of their lives. Ghanaian Embassy officials in Freetown who are supervising the evacuation of Ghanaians across the Sierra Leone-Liberian border, have vehemently protested against this wicked order, and have set in motion investigations to block the sampling. Other reports say 40 Ghanaian refugees, who walked over 85 miles to a border post, have been ferried across to Freetown. With the kind consent of the mayor of Freetown, Mr. Akibu Betts, these Ghanaians are being cared for at the Freetown City Council Hall. Most of them are suffering from blisters, with their children bogged down with fever and diarrhea. The authorities in Freetown are said to be assembling a medical team to attend to the Ghanaian refugees and others like them.

Troops serving in the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] peacekeeping and mediation force are still at the ready in Freetown to move in to Liberia. Their commander, Lieutenant General Arnold Quainoo, has said that the ECOWAS Mediation troops are ready to move within 24 hours notice.

On Charles Taylor's accusation that Nigeria in particular is on the side of President Doe, Lt. Gen. Quainoo said the Mediation Force is not going to impose President Doe on anybody. Lt. Gen. Quainoo is due to fly to Banjul on Monday [20 Aug] for another scheduled meeting between President Jawara of the Gambia, and Charles Taylor, who failed to honor a similar invitation last Wednesday. In the meantime, there are reports that the ECOWAS leaders are still on their toes, pressing for a cease-fire package.

### Internal Conflict Called 'Tribal Vendetta'

AB2008083889 Paris AFP in English 0814 GMT  
20 Aug 90

[By Christian Spillmann]

[Text] Monrovia, Aug 20 (AFP)—As Liberia's rebel forces bid to overthrow President Samuel Doe, the civil war nearly eight months old is degenerating daily into a chaotic tribal vendetta, civilians paying the price with

their lives. Here on the front line in Monrovia, the mood was summed up by a National Patriotic Front (NPFL) rebel fighter who says: "All the Krahns must be killed." Such convictions were echoed by the majority of Gio and Mano tribesmen in the main rebel group.

"I used to be a soldier," another said.

"I deserted when Doe's men started to arrest Gios and Manos. My family stayed in Monrovia and they all perished in the Lutheran church. Why should I spare their assassins?"

Some said that up to six hundred were victims of a nighttime massacre by government soldiers at the church refugee centre here last month. Men, women and children perished as the civil uprising plunged further into warfare between on the one hand, the Gio and Mano tribes from the ethnic Yacuba group whose heartland is Nimba County, and Mr. Doe's Krahn tribe.

The stark ethnic violence which has led to countless civilian killings is an embarrassment to NPFL leader Charles Taylor. "I don't want war with the Krahns or Mandingos. I'm fighting President Doe. But when men who have suffered so much, lost so much, catch one of those responsible, it is impossible to hold them back," he has said.

The fighting claims more lives every day, and Charles Taylor's rebel army looks and acts increasingly like a company of murderers and looters, its best troops having fled. For the past week, the rebels have been blocked some four kilometres (more than two miles) east of the Executive Mansion where Mr. Doe hides out. They have been unable to take government-held positions at James Spriggs Payne Airport and a pocket of resistance at Schiefflein, 16 kilometres (9 miles) east of the capital.

Meanwhile, Mr. Taylor is being challenged by one of his former allies, the dissident Prince Johnson, whose troops are holding off the NPFL at Bushrod Island, where Monrovia's autonomous port is situated, and Mamba point, site of foreign embassies in the capital. Prince Johnson has said he will do everything possible to stop Mr. Taylor becoming president.

Tiny Liberia's war has sent shock waves across the African Continent. West African states led by Nigeria, Ghana, and Guinea have decided to intervene by installing their own peace-keeping force. However their efforts have been hindered by logistics, politics, and most of all a shortage of finance.

Mr. Taylor was expected in The Gambia on Monday [20 Aug] to meet anxious African leaders. His supporters say the invitation from The Gambian President Dawda Jawara gives the rebel movement credibility. Others think Mr. Taylor's acceptance is tantamount to admission that the civil uprising has degenerated into tribal warfare he can no longer control, as he watches his

reputation diminish with each arbitrary civilian slaughter. Ahead of Monday's meeting, the NPFL leader was saying nothing.

#### **Taylor Not Going To Banjul; Sending Delegation**

*AB1008133890 Paris AFP in French 1306 GMT  
20 Aug 90*

[Text] Banjul, 20 Aug (AFP)—Charles Taylor, president of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), will not go to Banjul today as scheduled, according to official sources from The Gambia this afternoon. These sources specify that Charles Taylor apologized to Sir Dawda Jawara of The Gambia, current chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), in a telegram he sent to him today.

Mr. Taylor will, however, be represented by a delegation, whose members are not yet known, which is expected this afternoon in Banjul to meet with Sir Dawda and the ECOWAS Mediation Committee, these sources stated.

#### **Senegal**

#### **Casamance Rebels Raid Village, Kill Three**

*AB1708151990 Paris AFP in English 1421 GMT  
17 Aug 90*

[Text] Dakar, Aug 17 (AFP)—Separatists in southern Senegal killed three villagers in a night time raid this week close to the border with Guinea-Bissau, LE SOLEIL newspaper reported Friday [17 Aug]. They gunned down the chief of Boudiediete village, then set some huts on fire, burning two old people to death, the paper said. Looting followed, and the rebels made off with four outboard motors and a canoe.

Separatist attacks in Casamance region have flared since April, claiming 15 lives. The agitation is generally attributed to the Casamance Movement of Democratic Forces, which became active among the Diola people in 1982.

#### **Sierra Leone**

#### **ECOMOG Cites 'Five Phases' of Operation**

*AB1808215990 Freetown Domestic Service in English  
2000 GMT 18 Aug 90*

[Text] The commander of the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group]

peace-keeping force, General Arnold Quainoo, said today that his troop is ready to move off to Liberia at 24 hours' notice.

Speaking to reporters, the general did not however give an indication as to when the troop, made out of contingents from Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Guinea, and The Gambia, will eventually depart Freetown where they have been camped for about a week. He emphasized that ECOMOG is a friendly force and positively neutral. Liberia's problem, he said, should be resolved by the Liberians themselves.

Gen. Quainoo disclosed that the ECOMOG operation to Liberia, codenamed Liberty, will be conducted in five phases. He said it will start with moving into Liberia, followed by securing a front base, creating the conditions for peace-keeping action, including the restoration of electricity, water supply, and relief air [as heard], organizing an interim government, and conducting a general election in which all parties will be invited to stand.

According to SLENA [SIERRA LEONE NEWS AGENCY], ECOMOG also appointed Major Chris Oti-lana from Nigeria as press liaison officer.

#### **Six Nigerian Tanks Arrive; Officials Meet**

*AB1908184690 Paris AFP in French 1812 GMT  
19 Aug 90*

[Text] Lagos, 19 August (AFP)—Six Nigerian tanks arrived Saturday [18 Aug] night in the Sierra Leone port of Freetown as part of the West African Peace-Keeping Force (ECOMOG), according to the independent newspaper THE GUARDIAN.

Military officials of the ECOMOG force, which comprises about 2,500 men from Nigeria, Ghana, The Gambia and Guinea, met in Freetown to formulate a strategy for their mission, according to the paper.

M. Joshua Iroha, a Nigerian diplomat, has been assigned with coordinating between the Economic Community of West African States and ECOMOG. He will work closely with Lieutenant General Arnold Quainoo, the ECOMOG commander, in order to conduct operations in Liberia, where the rebels have been in pursuit of President Samuel Doe for eight months, according to THE GUARDIAN.

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